

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

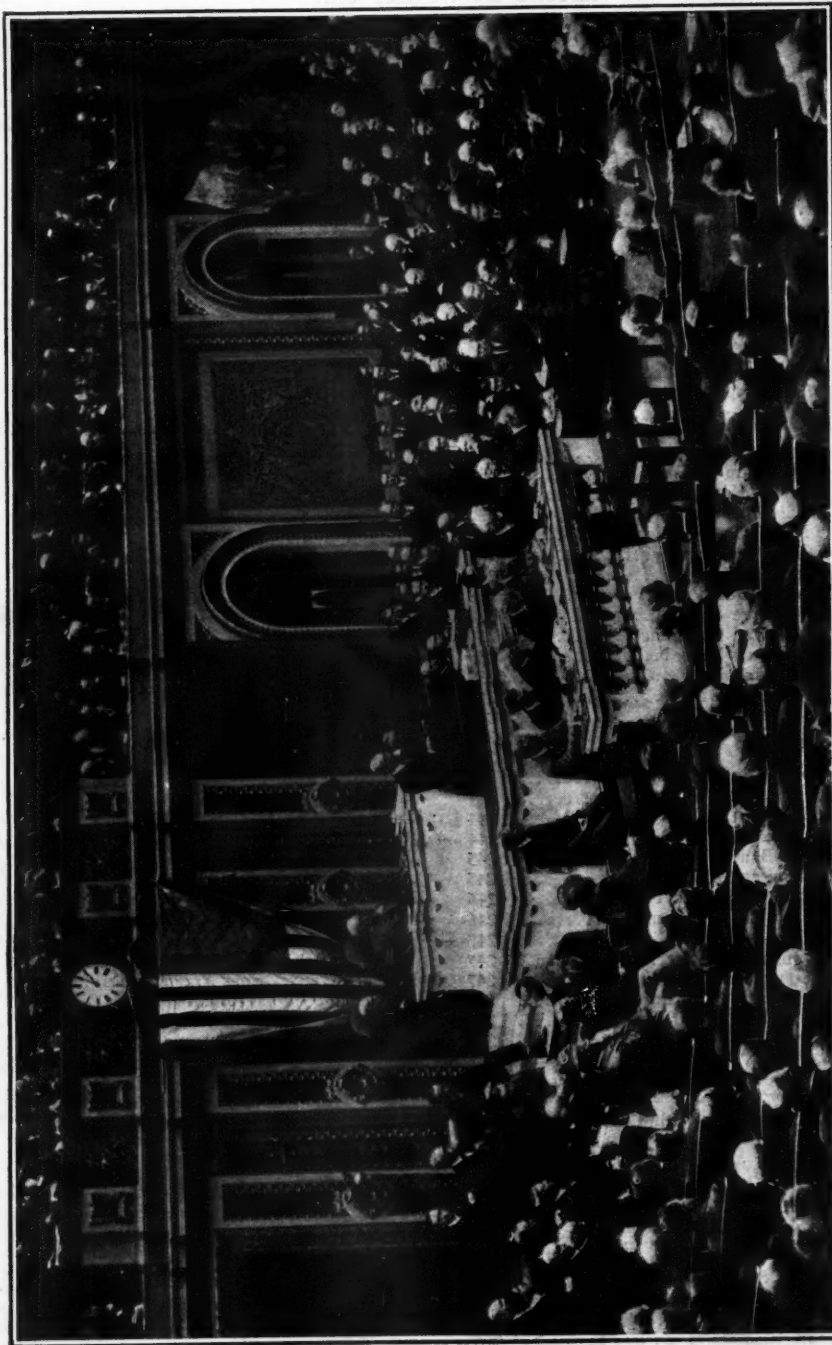
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PRESIDENT WILSON ADDRESSING CONGRESS ON A MOMENTOUS OCCASION LAST MONTH

(In this speech, made on February 3, the President discussed the inauguration of the new German submarine campaign, and announced the breaking off of diplomatic relations with Germany)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Is War
Remedial?*

As these pages were sent to the press, there was much reason to fear that a diplomatic break with Germany, dating from February 3, would soon be followed by a state of belligerency and hostile acts. We dissent from those who hold that foreign relationships should not be made a matter of full and free discussion in times of crisis. War is the most serious step a nation can take; and it would be shocking indeed if a democratic people were to acquiesce in the novel idea that the issues of war and peace should depend upon the processes of a single mind. The fatal flaw in the reasoning of some men lies in their failure to see that war may or may not be a suitable remedy for real grievances, according to the circumstances. If war should come now to the United States it would not be because it is employed as an instrument for achieving a desired end or removing a palpable grievance; it will have come because of the failure to obtain desired results through diplomatic pressure. When war is clearly the one rem-

edy that will rescue the weak from the strong, that will secure justice otherwise unobtainable, that will promote righteousness, truth, and peace in the world with the least relative sacrifice—let war be invoked as a remedy and as an instrument for specific achievement. But war as an expression of extreme disapproval in a given case may be neither practically expedient nor morally requisite.

*Issues for
All Citizens
to Judge*

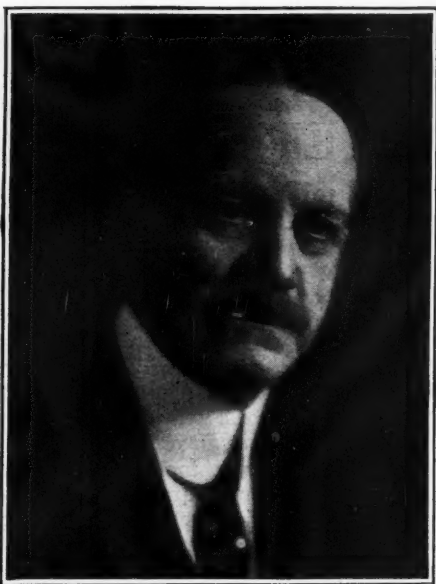
We deem it our duty to discuss present circumstances, and to review what has gone before. The crisis of last month called clearly for the verdict of public opinion in every nook and corner of the country. There were no issues at stake upon which the judgment of the plain citizen was not almost as valuable as the judgment of any official at Washington. It was merely a question whether—in the opinion of those who would have to bear the burdens of war—an armed conflict on our part in this particular crisis would prove to be an economical and adequate remedy for the wrongs imposed upon all neutrals by frightful methods employed to exclude them from illegal war zones in European waters. It is fairly probable that the belligerent status will have been assumed before these pages are read. If war comes, Americans will act with energy and unity. Before it comes, they will exchange views openly. Our expressions herewith are made in the hope that war may be averted.

*Germany's
"New
Decisions"*

On Wednesday, January 31, the German Ambassador at Washington, Count von Bernstorff, presented to our Secretary of State, Mr. Lansing, a memorandum from the government at Berlin. It referred in a complimentary manner to the speech that President Wilson had made before the Senate on January 22, outlining his ideals of world peace. It proceeded to identify German views with



A CAUSE AND AN EFFECT
From the *Commercial Appeal* (Memphis)



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COUNT JOHANN VON BERNSTORFF

(After eight years as German Ambassador at Washington, following a notable and successful diplomatic career elsewhere, this esteemed representative of his Government sailed from New York on February 14, on the Danish ship *Frederik VIII*, in consequence of the diplomatic break between the United States and Germany. Secretary Lansing had secured for Mr. Bernstorff English and French pledges of safe conduct. He had endeavored to maintain peaceful relations, and had held the respect of our State Department through a trying period.)

the President's aims and conceptions. "All the more," so the memorandum proceeds, "the Imperial [German] Government regrets that the attitude of her enemies, who are so entirely opposed to peace, makes it impossible for the world at present to bring about the realization of these lofty ideals." Continuing, the note declares:

Germany and her allies were ready to enter now into a discussion of peace, and had set down as basis the guarantee of existence, honor, and free development of their peoples. Their aims, as has been expressly stated in the note of December 12, 1916, were not directed toward the destruction or annihilation of their enemies, and were, according to their conviction, perfectly compatible with the rights of the other nations. . . . The attempt of the four allied [Teutonic] powers to bring about peace has failed owing to the lust of conquest of their enemies, who desire to dictate the conditions of peace. Under the pretense of following the principle of nationality, our enemies have disclosed their real aims in this way, viz.: To dismember and dishonor Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. To the wish of reconciliation, they oppose the will of destruction. They desire a fight to the bitter end. A new situation has thus been created, which forces Germany to new decisions.

*Motives
and
Necessities*

"For two years and a half England has been using her naval power for a criminal attempt to force Germany into submission by starvation," was Germany's assertion; and the note went on to denounce the violations of international law, and the pressure put by the Entente Allies upon neutral countries as well as upon their enemies. It reminded the American Government of the fruitless efforts that have been made to persuade the Allies "to return to the rules of international law and to respect the freedom of the seas." The following paragraphs contain the substance of the document:

The English Government, however, insists upon continuing its war of starvation, which does not at all affect the military power of its opponents, but compels women and children, the sick and the aged to suffer for their country pains and privations, which endanger the vitality of the nation.

Thus British tyranny mercilessly increases the suffering of the world; indifferent to the laws of humanity, indifferent to the protests of the neutrals whom they severely harm, indifferent even to the silent longing for peace among England's own allies. Each day of the terrible struggle causes new destruction, new sufferings. Each day shortening the war will, on both sides, preserve the life of thousands of brave soldiers and be a benefit to mankind.

The Imperial Government could not justify before its own conscience, before the German people and before history the neglect of any means destined to bring about the end of the war. Like the President of the United States, the Imperial Government had hoped to reach this goal by negotiations.

After attempts to come to an understanding with the Entente powers have been answered by the latter with the announcement of an intensified continuation of the war, the Imperial Government—to serve the welfare of mankind in a higher sense and not to wrong its own people—is now compelled to continue the fight for existence, again forced upon it, with the full employment of all the weapons which are at its disposal.

Sincerely trusting that the people and the Government of the United States will understand the motives for this decision and its necessity, the Imperial Government hopes that the United States may view the new situation from the lofty heights of impartiality and assist on their part to prevent further misery and unavoidable sacrifice of human life.

*A February
Zone of
Terror*

Accompanying the general note from which the quotations above are made were two further memoranda, one expressly stating the policy Germany meant to pursue—namely, that of unrestricted use of submarines after February 1, in zones of the high seas encircling the coasts of Germany's enemies—and the other

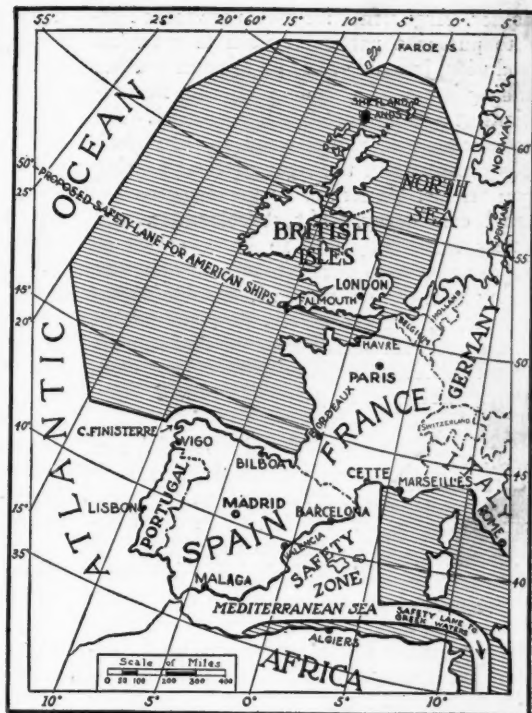
being a detailed geographical statement as to the barred areas and a bulletin of the restricted concessions to be made for the benefit of neutral travel. The first of these supplementary documents, after a preamble of justification, declares that

the Government of the United States will understand the situation, thus forced upon Germany by the Entente Allies' brutal methods of war, and by their determination to destroy the Central Powers, and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intention of the Entente Allies gives back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.

Under these circumstances, Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing after February 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, etc. *All ships met within that zone will be sunk.*

The Submarine Question Last Year

This announcement created consternation in the United States and deep concern in all other neutral countries. In London and other capitals of the Entente Powers it was received with more jubilation than dismay, on the ground that it would result in bringing the United States into action against Germany and thus help the Allies end the war on their own terms. Such was the disappointing outcome of what had been somewhat prematurely hailed as our great American diplomatic victory of last May. After the sinking of the English steamer *Sussex*, in the British Channel, last April, our Government declared it would "sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether" unless the German Government "should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels." Whereupon, Germany, on May 4, declared its purpose to observe "the general principles of visit and search." Germany was careful to add, however, that in fighting for her existence neutrals should not expect her to "restrict the use of an effective weapon" if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of inter-



THE NEW SUBMARINE ZONES

(This map shows with approximate accuracy the submarine zone of terror created by the German order that went into effect on February 1. Note that it spares a margin along the coasts of Holland and the Scandinavian countries, and that it exempts Portugal as well as Spain. The danger area in the Mediterranean seems to be less perfectly defined. The port of Certe, as our map shows, on the southern coast of France, was left open for the benefit of Switzerland.)

national law. On the 8th of last May our Government made a reply that assumed Germany's complete acceptance of our demand—President Wilson expressly refusing, however, to consider the idea that future German submarine policy should have any reference to our attitude towards Germany's enemies.

Theory and Practice in Statecraft

In consistency with his note of April 18, 1916, President Wilson directed Secretary Lansing to announce to Count von Bernstorff the severance of diplomatic relations, to withdraw Ambassador Gerard from Berlin, and to hand Count von Bernstorff his passports. There seemed to be wide acceptance of the view that no other course could be taken, in the circumstances. It is quite impossible for all minds to work in the same way in reaching decisions where many facts and conditions are involved. Practical minds are impelled to consider the relationship of facts to one

another. Argumentative minds are more likely to pursue a particular issue to a logical conclusion, irrespective of its relation to other pending issues. Decisions at Berlin, like decisions at London, are wholly practical. All the circumstances are weighed, and decisions are made in the light of their bearing upon results. There is no great regard for verbal consistency. At Washington, the process seems at times to be reversed; so that we appear to ourselves and to others as having been driven, by the irresistible appeal to logic, to make decisions that are not in accordance with our desires, but that support certain earlier attitudes or expressions. Consistency, however, may regard changed facts.

Neutral Rights and Duties In view of the diverse origins of the American people, and their dissimilar views about the great war in Europe, it was felt to be quite impossible for this country to range itself on either side in 1914. Such being the case, there was no legal position for us except that of neutrality. When a great war is on foot, it is the business of a strong neutral to define what it means by neutrality, and to maintain its neutral rights without hesitation or delay. It is neither necessary nor safe for a strong neutral to appeal anxiously to belligerent powers to respect rights which the entire world knows to belong to neutrals in their seafaring. It has been customary for strong neutrals to serve notice and to act without hesitation. Never in the history of the world was a neutral power in a position as strong as that of the United States in 1914 and 1915. The other neutral states would gladly have joined us in a conference for agreement upon what this REVIEW has repeatedly termed the "irreducible minimum" of neutral rights. The determinations of such a conference could have been followed by an *announcement—not a request*—to all the belligerents. Diplomatic argument would have been unnecessary.

Belgium, the Immortal Example When nations are at war their energies are absorbed by abnormal emergencies. Taking the view—as they must on both sides—that their very existence is at stake, they cannot forego any measure that would help to insure peace with victory. There are no neutral rights which in war time can be exercised without a possible inconvenience to one or another belligerent. If, therefore, the neutrals show no determination to enforce and maintain

their rights, but adopt instead the plan of sending arguments ably written by authorities in international law, they will be doing just what the trespassing belligerent desires. Nations at war expect protests from neutrals; and they take serious notice only when written objections are very brief and point to some kind of immediate action. When protests against violation of neutral rights are prepared and forwarded in a leisurely way, and take the documentary form of legal briefs, the belligerent is much encouraged and carries on the illegal practices more vigorously than ever. Germany had not the slightest desire or intention of inflicting harm on Belgium. She expected diplomatic notes and protests, such as she received from Luxemburg; and she expected, afterwards, to pay damages for having violated Belgium's neutral rights. This course would have been highly gratifying to Germany. It happened, however, that Belgium, small as she was, proposed to assert and maintain neutral rights, with the profound historic consequence that the Germans did not reach Paris. Belgium is the shining example, for all time, of a neutral asserting rights. If one neutral could show such character, what shall be said of the others?

The Hesitant Neutrals

It will be the regret of thoughtful statesmen for many decades to come that all the other neutrals could not in some way have made protest so prompt and emphatic, and also protest so menacing, as to have caused Germany to desist from her unlawful violation of Belgium. It would have been much better for Germany if such a course could have been pursued. Since, however, Germany had acted so swiftly that neutrals could not have intervened in time, there was all the more reason why neutrals should have come together, under the lead of the United States, to save the remnants of neutral rights—by defining what they would stand for, and by announcing their determination to brook no interference. Some timid people there are who say that this course would have dragged us into war. The chances are at least a hundred to one that it would have kept us out of war, besides giving us an influence that would have saved the world from much misery and that might have ended the war before this time. Earlier conferences of nations had not, indeed, gone so far as to find ways to insure the world against the evils of great wars. But they had resulted in the steady develop-

ment of the principle that peace rather than war is the normal status. They had emphasized the view that the rights of the countries which remain at peace are not to be cast to the winds in war time, to satisfy the exigencies of belligerents. In the present war, the United States was the country which, by reason of its economic power and of its geographical detachment, was in a position to assert neutral rights, and to lead the associated neutrals in the exercise of methods that must have secured the respect of the whole world for the principles written down in The Hague Treaties and in the Declaration of London. We were sound in doctrine at Washington, but the country did not encourage a strong course of action.

It was manifest that the time for joint neutral action was at the beginning of the war, and that such action should be affirmative and vigorous if meant to affect belligerent conduct. Immediately following his breaking off diplomatic relations with Germany President Wilson (on February 4) advised neutral governments that he thought "it would make for the peace of the world if they should take action against Germany similar to that taken by the United States." But there were practical reasons why, at this stage of the great war, they could not venture to act separately and disjointedly in taking steps that, for several of them, would have meant nothing less than war against one of the powers violating international law. The American communication evoked from Sweden a very frank and typical reply, that deserves more attention than our newspapers and politicians have seen fit to give it. Lest our readers might have overlooked it, we give it herewith in full:

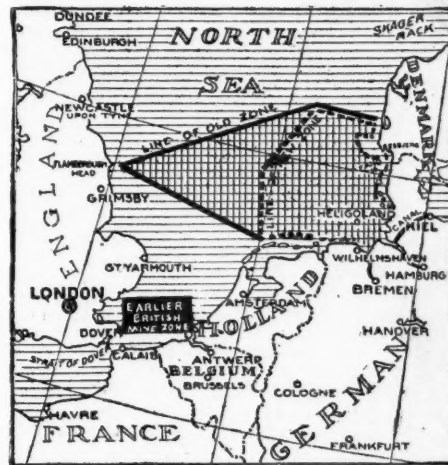
The policy followed by the royal [Swedish] government during the war has been one of impartial neutrality. The royal government has done everything in its power faithfully to fulfill all the duties which this policy imposes upon it, and at the same time it has rendered effective so far as possible the rights derived therefrom.

With a view to obtaining a practical result in upholding the principles of international law, the royal government has several times addressed itself to neutral powers in order to effect coöperation, with the aforesaid object in view. Above all, the royal government has not failed to submit to the government of the United States a proposal to this effect.

The royal government has observed with great regret that the interests of the United States have not permitted it to accept these proposals. The steps thus taken by the royal government have led to the taking of common measures among

Sweden, Denmark, and Norway with regard to the two belligerent groups.

In the policy followed by the royal government in order to maintain its neutrality and to safeguard the legitimate rights of the country, the royal government, alive to the indescribable sufferings which from day to day more cruelly oppress all humanity, is ready to seize every opportunity which offers itself to contribute to the realization of a near and durable peace.



CLOSED ZONES OF DANGER CREATED BY ENGLAND

(Early in the war, the British Government closed the English Channel to neutrals and created arbitrary danger zones in the high seas by planting mines. Later, England created mine fields nearer Heligoland in the North Sea. On January 25 of this year, the British Admiralty warned neutrals of a new mine zone of very large and arbitrary character, indicated in the map above. This was modified in the middle of February, as shown by dotted lines. The object was to cut off all approach to Germany. The order was very offensive to Holland and Denmark and, less directly, to Sweden and Norway.)

Consequently it hastened to associate itself with the noble initiative taken by the President, with a view to examining the possibility of instituting negotiations between the belligerents.

The proposal which forms the subject of the present correspondence has as its aim the shortening of the evils of the war, but the Government of the United States has chosen as a means of arriving at this end a method absolutely contrary to the principles which have guided the policy of the royal government to the present hour.

The royal government, supported by public opinion, confirmed by the unanimous solicitations of the country's representatives, intends to follow in the future, as in the past, a policy of neutrality and impartiality toward both belligerent groups. And it is not disposed to abandon this policy unless the vital interests of the country and the dignity of the nation oblige it so to do.

The submarine policy is far more inconvenient to Sweden and her allies—Norway and Denmark—and especially to Holland, than it is inconvenient to us. Relatively to our total trade, our interest in ships that sail in Euro-

Frank
Words from
Sweden

Neutral
Cooperation
Avoided

pean water is quite small, while the shipping interests of the maritime countries around the Baltic and the North Sea are very large. But for many reasons it seemed proper to coöperate with the other neutrals. Our commerce is less directly involved, because the things that we sell to Europe are not only bought here by the European purchasers, but are taken away in European ships. There has never been any sound reason why we should have treated questions of illegal restrictions in European waters as if they were questions that pertained peculiarly to the Government of the United States. From the commercial standpoint, we could have afforded well enough at the start to make protests against all illegal acts, while warning American ships and American citizens to keep out of the danger zones that belligerents on both sides were unlawfully creating in waters contiguous to the shores of their enemies. This would have been correct enough, and would perhaps have been more definite than the course which we have actually pursued. It would at least have been recognizable from the standpoint of neutrality. But it would not have been as effective, a course as that which was always possible—namely, the firm assertion of neutral rights in coöperation with all the neutral powers. Germany did much more against Belgium than to trespass upon her soil. Her

subsequent course in many aspects was in violation of established principles. There have, in short, been many things done in the great war that common neutral action might have mitigated or prevented.

*Scanning the
Diplomatic
Record*

Elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW (see page 268) will be found a summary of diplomatic correspondence between our Government and those of Great Britain and Germany (these being the representatives of their respective groups) having to do with violation of neutral rights. The volume of correspondence is great, and the contents highly instructive. Germany's position from start to finish has been that her use of submarines has exceeded the methods set forth by the United States as legal, only in so far as reprisals were justified because of the unlawful methods of Germany's enemies, who are in absolute control of the high seas excepting as this control may be modified by submarine action. The thing that Germany has most complained of is the so-called "blockade," by which her people are prevented from obtaining foodstuffs and other non-contraband material. It is wholly proper at this time that any American citizen who wishes to make up his mind intelligently about our national rights and duties should be fully cognizant of the attitude of our own Government towards this blockade. The Washington denunciations of it as illegal have been not less sweeping than those emanating from Berlin.



THE SPEARS THAT KNOW NO BROTHER
From the News (Dayton)

After much protest and controversy with the British Government, the American official view was summed up in an extended note bearing the date of October 21, 1915, signed by Mr. Lansing as Secretary of State—a note that was not sent until it had been in the President's hands a long time for study and revision. In that note we denounce the methods of British prize courts and deny the right to regulate our trade with neutrals. After a detailed and scathing review of English practices, we are on record as saying that "measured by the three universally conceded tests above set forth, the present British measures cannot be regarded as constituting a blockade in law, in practice, or in effect." And, in continuation, Mr. Lansing declares: "It is incumbent upon the United States Government, therefore, to give the British Government notice that the blockade which they claim to have instituted under the

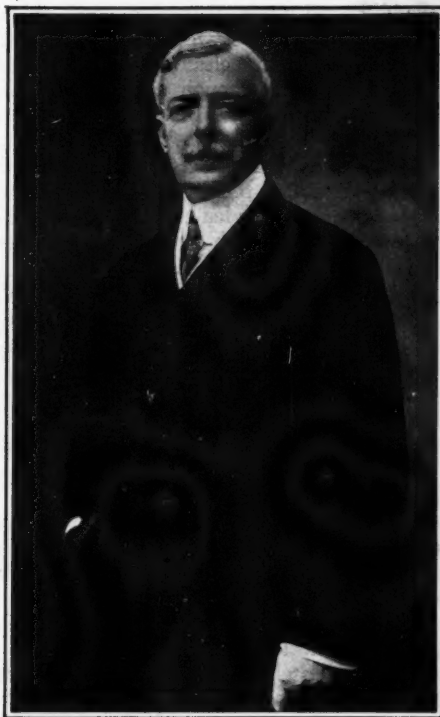
Orders in Council of March 11 [1915] *cannot be recognized as a legal blockade by the United States.*" We have never modified that repudiation. Further summing up illegal practises on the part of Great Britain, Mr. Lansing declared:

The United States, therefore, cannot submit to the curtailment of its neutral rights by these measures, which are admittedly retaliatory, and therefore illegal, in conception and in nature, and intended to punish the enemies of Great Britain for alleged illegalities on their part. The United States might not be in a position to object to them if its interests and the interests of all neutrals were unaffected by them, but, being affected, it can not with complacency suffer further subordination of its rights and interests to the plea that the exceptional geographical position of the enemies of Great Britain require or justify oppressive and illegal practises.

There is much else in the same vein which ought not to be ignored, because it has some direct bearing upon what has confronted us since the beginning of February. While we cannot quote all of Mr. Lansing's statements in this note to Sir Edward Grey, who was then British Foreign Minister, we must give the concluding sentence which—if sent by some more warlike government than our own—might have been regarded as an ultimatum and might therefore have led to serious conflict with England:

This task of championing the integrity of neutral rights which have received the sanctioning of the civilized world against the lawless conduct of belligerents, arising out of the bitterness of the great conflict which is now wasting the countries of Europe, the United States unhesitatingly assumes, and to the accomplishment of that task it will devote its energies, exercising always that impartiality which from the outbreak of the war it has sought to exercise in its relations with the warring nations.

The reader must remember that this note was sent to Great Britain about six months after the sinking of the *Lusitania*, and that it reviewed British practises which had been going on for considerably more than a year. We told England in this note that we were going to be impartial and stand for neutral rights against both sides. Yet the British Government cared so little about our protests, and it was so confident that we would not take an active course, that it did not even deign to reply to this note for a period of half a year. Its practises, meantime, grew steadily more restrictive, and its violation of neutral rights (as defined at Washington) was extended in every direction. United



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HON. ROBERT LANSING, SECRETARY OF STATE

States mails were subjected to more complete censorship, although they had been respected at the beginning of the war; and the "blacklisting" of merchants assumed a most indefensible character. If at any time such measures had been taken against Great Britain, in like circumstances, vigorous action would have followed at once if the policy were not withdrawn. Against the treatment of United States mails, against the "blacklist," and against many other things, Mr. Lansing sent sharp and challenging diplomatic notes. But the practises continued, and our Government did nothing more.

England
Acts
Responsibly

Let no reader suppose that we are writing these words in a spirit of irritation towards Great Britain. Let the reader search as he likes between the lines, and he will find none of it there. It is our opinion that Great Britain's policy in some of these matters has been unwise, because it has inflicted incidental wrongs upon several of her smaller neighbors, it has put her in an inconsistent position, and its present and future bearings seem to us more harmful than useful. We

have discussed these matters a good many times during the past two and a half years. But her reasons are clear enough, and her methods are mild, though arbitrary. It is not the conduct of Great Britain in these matters, but our own relationship to it that we are reviewing. When we take positions, we must try to sustain them. It is true that the British practises have led to the German submarine reprisals, which have created a state of terror in the world that endangers the peace and happiness of innocent neutral countries. But England reckoned with all this, and took her chances. She knew that the German terrorism was part of the price she would have to pay for a drastic course that she herself took, on her own responsibility, as a means of shortening the war and establishing permanent peace.

Germany expected to pay damages to Belgium for trespassing on her territory, her object being to get to Paris and end the war. In the same manner England expected to pay damages for violating neutral rights at sea, and was willing to do so (after the war was over) because she had great objects at stake. There is framed on the wall in the office of the British Minister of Blockade, Lord Robert Cecil—so we are told—the canceled check for \$15,500,000 that the British Government paid the Government of the United States as a result of the award in the *Alabama* damage claims following our Civil War. It is also said (we do not vouch for the report) that Lord Robert Cecil recently admitted that his walls might be plastered with similar checks as a result of British illegal practises during the present war. If the

war could be shortened a single day as a result of economic pressure on Germany due to the so-called "blockade," it would save England alone in war expenses fully twice the amount of the *Alabama* award. Besides, there is the more serious consideration of the lives to be saved. Great Britain's allies and colonies, taken together, would be saved on their part even larger amounts of money, and far more lives. Thus England's policy is meant to shorten the war, and she takes the responsibility.

In a speech the other day, it was said by a prominent member of the British Government that these restrictive measures of so-called "blockade" and of regulation of neutral commerce are successful in their objects and are actually creating famine conditions in Germany that will shorten the war. Here, then, is the situation: The United States denounces as illegal certain British practices, and declares itself the champion of neutral rights thus violated, solemnly stating that it will not submit to them. The British Government persists in these practices, and declares that they are proving effectual in bringing suffering and defeat to Germany.

Meanwhile the British Government treats our objections as if they were academic, or perchance as in the nature of a legal notice to give color to claims that may be filed at some future time. Be it remembered that Germany is entirely familiar with our statements to Great Britain, and waits for many months in the hope that we may take some action to support our words. Everybody can understand England's position, and many people can under-



LORD ROBERT CECIL, BRITISH MINISTER OF
BLOCKADE

(Lord Robert is a son of the late Marquis of Salisbury, former Prime Minister of England. No one could judge from his appearance, what is true in point of fact, that he is the most unswerving administrator of Orders in Council which disregard international maritime law in a larger variety of ways than the diplomatic history of any previous period records)

Ready to
Pay the
Price

Relative
Positions—the
Triangle

stand Germany's. In foreign countries the American attitude has been misunderstood.

*Why
Neutrality Was
Slide-tracked*

It is just to remember, and honest to admit, that we were in a position to secure the full observance of the minimum rights of neutrals at sea, if we had resolved to do so. The leisurely writing of exhaustive notes was taken in England as a clear evidence that we did not intend to see that our rights were actually observed. For two years after the war broke out, the economic situation was such that Great Britain and her allies were obliged to obtain supplies of food, cotton, copper and other metals, besides various other commodities, from North and South America. A mere whisper of the word "embargo," by a group of neutrals who meant what they said would have been effective. It is useless to set forth what has been obvious from the beginning. In the first stages of the war, trade was scared off the seas, goods could not be shipped, and cotton fell to something like six cents a pound. Our Southern States were in a terrible plight, and were eager to have the United States Government buy the German ships and sail them officially. There was for a time great irritation towards belligerent commercial practises. But in due time Britain, France, and Japan had cleared their enemies off the seas, and cotton reacted to prices that made the South complacent towards maritime conditions. The Allies were willing to buy all the bread and meat our Western farmers had to sell, at almost double the normal prices. The South was prosperous, and the great mid-west Interior was also enjoying a business boom. "Wall Street" had come out of its dumps, the Stock Exchange was enjoying its era of greatest speculative activity, and the banking interests were all committed to the Allied governments as agents for floating their loans or as concerned with contracts for supplies. The prosperity boom had eclipsed neutrality.

*War on
Principle*

There were just two ways by which we could have become involved in the war. One was by voluntary entrance in deference to some high principle of law and order in the world. There had been not a few Americans, some of them very eminent, who had thought from the beginning that the United States should have joined in the war for the vindication of the rights of law-abiding nations to live in security. Such a course, however, was not



THE GERMAN CHANCELLOR, BETHMANN-HOLLWEG, TALKING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER ZIMMERMAN AND FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER VON JAGOW

possible in practise, because public opinion was not sufficiently in agreement as to the underlying causes of the European struggle, and because the Democratic leaders were against war. The other way of becoming involved in the war was to drift into it. Through a long and dangerous period protest had been substituted for action. At last we found ourselves on the verge of war, in an uncertain attitude.

*Climax Two
Years Ago*

So confused have the issues been that many people forget that we reached the great climax of neutral policy early in 1915, half a year after the war had begun. The British had not mentioned such a thing as blockade, but they were illegally extending the doctrine of contraband and were shutting food out of Germany on untenable pretexts. The Germans had been using submarines in strictly naval warfare, but not against merchant ships. They announced their purpose to declare a blockade zone around Great Britain and to use submarines against merchant ships, beginning at an early date, unless the British should meanwhile agree to follow the established principles of maritime warfare in their

captures of vessels and seizure of cargoes. The United States, at this juncture, addressed to both belligerents the famous "identic note" of February 20, 1915. We proposed that Germany should withdraw her threat to make illegal use of submarines. We proposed that England should permit food for civilians (wheat was the particular article in question) to enter Germany if distributed under the supervision of American consuls. Germany accepted our suggestion, and pledged herself that no food from the outside should be used for the army. England delayed her answer for some time, and then curtly declined to consider our suggestions. We had gone far to conciliate England, because the shipping of breadstuffs to Germany, under international law, was perfectly legal—as much so as to England—and we were under no more obligation to look after distribution in one country than in the other. England had sea power and was using it illegally. Germany proposed to use a still more illegal form of reprisal.

*Anti-Climax
in March*

From the standpoint of neutrality, our most serious error of the entire war lay in not adhering firmly to the just principles of that "identic note" of February, 1915. We should have told Germany that under no circumstances could we condone her mad proposal of a zone of submarine assassination on the high seas. We should have told England—always provided we were sincere in our professions of neutrality and of championship of international rights—that if she continued to prevent the lawful shipment of food to Germany we would be compelled to see that no American food went to England. We should not have sent the "identic note" of February if we were lacking in the spirit and courage necessary to stand by both halves of it in March. Mr. Bryan, as Secretary of State, was not peremptory enough.

*As to the
"Blockade"*

England took the hint and began to refer to certain new Orders in Council, issued in March, as a "blockade." It is true that her methods were not those that had in earlier wars been regarded as technically requisite for a legal blockade. Unfortunately for the dignity of our position, we submitted to some of the most drastic restrictions ever known in history—and have continued to submit in practice—while we have gone on record with the most exhaustive denunciation of all these

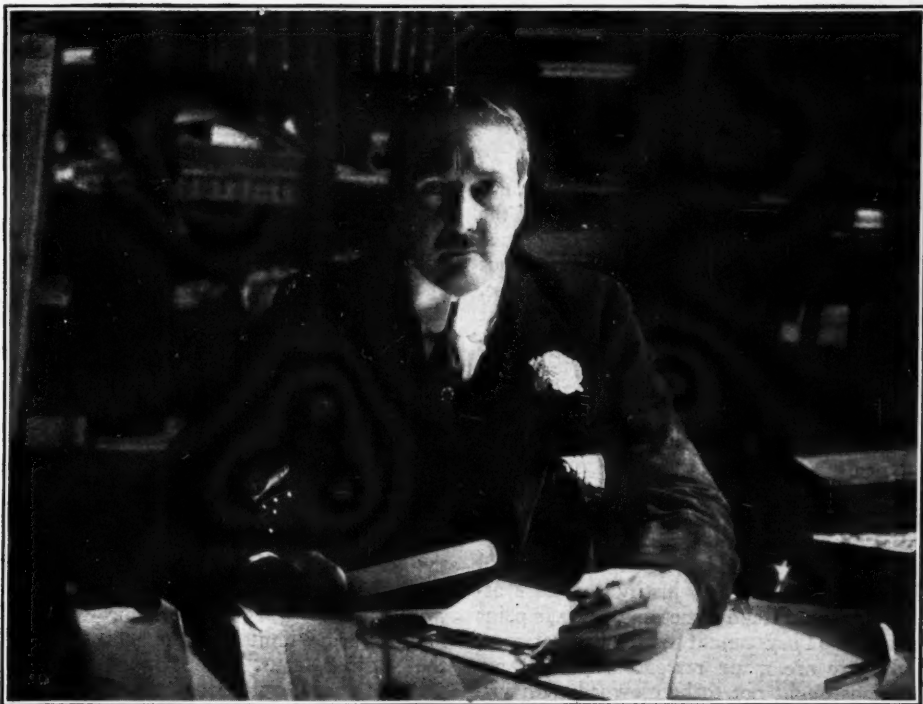
things in legal doctrine. We should either have acted upon our view, or else have accepted the English argument in defense of English methods. As our readers may remember, it was the opinion of this magazine that our Government might have accepted the English blockade as substantially effective and lawful in its main aspects, since the United States did not choose to give force to its objections. The methods of English prize courts, the mail seizures, the blacklists, the interference with certain ordinary rights in trading with neutrals—these should, of course, all have been nipped in the bud by vigorous action at the very moment when the questions arose. But the blockade could have been accepted, with some modifications.

*Germany
Misled by Our
"Notes"*

But if our words and our actions have been inconsistent as respects Great Britain, our course towards Germany has had perhaps less to commend it. The German Government has been misled from the start, by our epistolary controversies with England. Berlin has supposed that we would justify her submarine policy—or at least that we would understand it—as in necessary retaliation for the British policies against which we were all the time so stoutly protesting. We seemed to Germany to be quarreling with England; whereas, in point of fact, we were on excellent terms with England. We ought to have attuned our diplomacy to accord with the real relationships. We were carrying on a vast and profitable commerce with England, all of which was legitimate. Germany's submarine methods were outside the pale of law and right. It did not matter much whether the ships that were engaged in our lawful trade happened to fly one flag or another. If they were merchant ships, they were not to be imperilled by mines, whether floating or anchored, in the high seas. They were not to be arrested except through due process of warning and search, and were not to be captured or sunk without provision for the safety of lives. All the tendency in maritime international law had been towards safeguarding the rights of merchant ships, because the whole world was looking forward to agreements for the exemption of private property at sea as a thing of the near future.

*Too Lenient
with
Germany*

When, therefore, in March, 1915, our Government sent the "strict accountability" note, we were far too lenient. The submarine policy



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HON. JAMES W. GERARD AT HIS DESK, BEFORE LEAVING THE AMERICAN EMBASSY AT BERLIN

itself was an intolerable offense. It was striking at our rights of trade as well as at our rights of travel; and the legal wrong lay in the policy rather than in the incidents. It is a confusion of ideas to think that piracy or other forms of lawlessness that make the high seas dangerous must attack *our* flag, or harm a citizen of *our* allegiance, before we have ground of action. The whole world, two years ago, should have made common cause against Germany's form of reprisal. This is not meant to be a harsh criticism, for our Administration was trying to act in such a way as to carry public opinion with it. But the time for "strict accountability" was before tragic accidents had occurred rather than afterwards. There are, of course, certain distinctions that we could properly have insisted upon. Passengers ought not to have been carried on munition ships, for example. But there is no sound line of reasoning that can make the unwarmed sinking of merchant ships on the high seas a permissible form of reprisal for the hardships caused by an illegal blockade. The remedy against such blockade lies in some use of power within the spheres of military or naval action.

*Is the War
Soon to
End?*

The war has proceeded now, with all its terrors by land and by sea, through two full calendar years and considerable parts of two others. In six months more it will have entered upon the fourth year, provided it is not ended sooner. There are many indications that the end may not be very long delayed. England could have avoided this new submarine campaign—which is directed against her with a view to limiting her supply of food and material—if she had chosen to pursue technically legal courses in her relation to neutral trade. She chose to pay the price, believing that she had more to gain by her drastic use of sea power than she could lose through German reprisals. If Germany's resumption of submarine terrorism justifies war—as it obviously does—let us remember that war is precisely what it is encountering. The sea power of England, France, and Italy, not to mention that of their active allies, Russia, Japan, Belgium, and Portugal, is vastly greater than that of Germany. Furthermore, while Germany has been getting ready to use submarines against her enemies, they in turn have been preparing with

their superior resources to meet her methods and thwart them. It will be what they can do, and not what the neutrals could do at this stage, that must nullify the submarine campaign, must fight the war to a truce, and provide for an established peace.

*Is Belligerency
Our Present
Duty?*

The object of this résumé is not to find fault with any one of the three governments under discussion—whatever blame they may merit—but to analyze the facts for one chief purpose. That purpose is to persuade our readers that for America to assume the status of belligerency just now would probably not serve the highest ends in the best way. Each of the great powers of Europe had made serious mistakes in its turn during the quarter-century before the war began. Germany and Austria might have had some grievances, but they precipitated the war through their imperial ambitions rather than because of offenses to be redressed. Their courage, and their present suffering, justify a sincere attempt to understand something of their point of view. They cannot win the great war, and there are many reasons why their aggressions ought not to be crowned with victory. But they had ceased, months ago, to fight for victory, and their fight now is for terms of peace that will not be too intolerable. The temporary change in their submarine methods, after the *Lusitania* and particularly after the *Sussex*, was regarded in England as being due not to President Wilson's diplomacy, but to the fact that the British methods were fast destroying and capturing all of the German submarines. It was confidently declared, both publicly and privately, by British authorities last month,



THE CANNON'S ROAR

HATE: "Louder! Louder!—otherwise mankind will hear the voice of reason!"
From *De Notenkraker* (Amsterdam)

that they could readily deal with the new submarine campaign, although they realized that they must undergo the taking of a serious toll of ships. The British were confident that in its main purpose, that of keeping England from obtaining her necessary food supply, the campaign would fail from the start. Since the British control ample tonnage for all their supply purposes, besides controlling thousands of small armed craft capable of fighting submarines, there is no practical call upon the United States to send ships of any class into the danger zones, until lanes of trade are safely opened.

*War Should
Have Specific
Aims*

War is a word that has many meanings. It has no justification except as the best specific means to some necessary end. Going to war because somebody has offended your honor is not in accord with modern views. There is no country in the world that wishes to offend the honor of the United States. Fighting to clear the sea of pirates or of slave traders would be a necessary form of police work, the fighting being limited to the achievement of the desired ends. We fought Barbary pirates, under conditions which made the methods suit the object. We went to war with Spain in a helpful spirit, to end a devastating war that was destroying the people of Cuba after a continuance of three years, and that was bankrupting Spain with no hope of compensating gain. Our intervention was very brief and not very bloody. It created the prosperous Cuba of to-day. It allowed 200,000 young Spanish soldiers to go back home, and started Spain upon a new career that will make her once more the center of a great Spanish-speaking world. It has set the Philippines forward so that they may some time have a place of their own among the nations. War is such a terrible business that it should not be entered upon unless it seems to be the only means towards right and necessary ends or solutions.

*Practical
Aspects of the
Case*

For us to go to war with Germany, because of grievances incidental to the larger combat, would not seem to be practical. It would be useless to try to make the American people believe that an affront to us was intended, inasmuch as everyone knows that this is not the case. Both sides in this war have created illegal zones in the high seas, have planted mines, and have ordered neutrals to keep out of the way. This is vastly

more inconvenient for Holland and the Scandinavian countries than for us, and is not meant as a direct injury to any neutral. It is better at this stage that the neutrals should allow the belligerent groups to fight it all out and come to terms as quickly as possible. We could not give much effect to the status of belligerency without vast preparations for national defense. This would mean retention of supplies and materials of all kinds at home for our own purposes, and might lengthen the war. The idea proposed by certain well-meaning folk that we could be at war while remaining unarmed and unprepared, our function being to give money and materials to England, France, Russia, and Italy, can never find acceptance with robust Americans. -

*Our Only
Avowed
Grievance*

We have no avowed grievance against Germany except that she has created certain zones of terror in the seas. We should have no clear reason for using the instrument of war, unless war should enable us effectively and at once to remedy that particular evil. In 1898 we had no thought of making war upon Spain, but only of abating a nuisance in Cuba. If the Cubans had been able to abate the nuisance themselves, we should have had no grounds for interfering, although American rights were involved in many ways and American lives were lost, notably in the sinking of the *Maine* in Havana harbor. Now it happens that, in the case of the submarine zone, the English are already engaged very hopefully, with the aid of their powerful allies, in abating the nuisance. It is true that the nuisance is offensive to us also. But if the people against whom it is brought into being are fully able to deal with it, the reasons for our keeping out of the European war remain far greater than those which could draw us in. It is not our business to help rearrange in detail the map of Europe.

*Could We
Hasten Peace?*

If we should go to war against Germany, it would be said by some of those who have favored it, that this mere change of status on our part would somehow bring the war to a speedy end. There is nothing to justify such an assumption. It is much easier to make war than to make peace. If any of the newspapers that were so eagerly demanding war day after day last month had done any thinking as regards our mode of exit from the war into which they wished to plunge us, they



KAISER: "I HOPE YOU DO NOT MISUNDERSTAND ME."
From the *Ohio State Journal* (Columbus)

had not revealed it to their readers. Peace would have come before this but for the complexities due to the different aspirations or fears of the members of the respective belligerent groups. We have no soldiers to send against Germany's armies in Europe, nor has Germany any way of sending soldiers to fight on our soil. Germany could, however, immediately declare a danger zone along our Atlantic and Gulf seaboard from Halifax to Mexico, and could send twenty or a hundred submarines over to intercept commerce. It is not so many weeks ago that she sent the *U-53* over to make a morning call of courtesy at Newport and to spend an afternoon sinking British ships outside the three-mile limit. It would seem to many practical minds that we could serve all interests, including our own, better from the standpoint of neutrality than we could serve from the status of belligerency.

*The
Shriekers
for War*

There have been certain newspapers, and some eminent individuals, so bitterly indignant against Germany that their utterances have constantly been incitement to war. But we have also had eminent individuals who sought to have us fight Russia when we broke



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DR. PAUL RITTER, SWISS MINISTER AT WASHINGTON

(German interests in this country were turned over by Mr. Bernstorff to the care of the Swiss legation. Dr. Ritter became active in an unsuccessful movement to bring about a compromise between Germany and the United States on the submarine policy)

off treaty relations by reason of our objection to Jewish persecution and massacre. We have had eminent individuals who wished us to fight Britain on behalf of the Boer republics. We have had others who wished us to fight England on behalf of Ireland. If we were merely seeking pretexts for war, we should have been cleaning up Mexico during the past four years. We have in that time made two small wars in Mexico, each starting resolutely and both ending in paralysis of action and withdrawal under threat. It is one thing to find pretexts for war when one desires to fight, and quite a different thing to go to war against one's wishes merely because there is ample ground for indignation and legal basis for a hostile attitude.

As for American citizens of German birth or parentage, honest and truthful men have not discovered, since the outbreak of this war, that their loyalty to the United States has been one whit less than that of any other element whatsoever of our population. We have a

great many quiet, high-spirited Americans who, for reasons that appeal to their own unselfish sense of moral obligation, have gone to Europe to aid sufferers in hospitals, to drive ambulances, and indeed thousands of them to fight in the trenches. These people have earned our respect by their conduct. They have not said much, but they have followed the lead of their convictions. With some hesitancy, we feel moved to commend the conduct of these really brave and typical Americans to some worthy citizens who have been ready to plunge this country into a war which might for them involve no personal sacrifices. There was a regrettable tendency to recrimination last month. Most of those who urged war were impelled by a sense of national duty, while the so-called "pacifists" were no less patriotic and conscientious. The people who deserved least consideration were those who had tried to keep this country unprepared up to the very verge of an emergency that always lay within the realm of the probable. Many of last month's war shriekers had previously opposed preparation, while many of the pacifists had failed to see that the war danger was far more imminent because of our total unreadiness to make war efficiently. But all these classes were patriots in sentiment. They would all rally to the support of their Government; and they will have the consolation of knowing, if war should come, that America has no selfish ambition or sinister object.



GETTING DOWN TO BUSINESS
From the *Commercial Appeal* (Memphis)

*Readiness as
National Duty*

From the beginning of this European war, the one great national duty has been that of preparation for emergencies. It is to be regretted that some of those like Mr. Bryan who have been most conspicuous in opposing a war with Germany had been, for more than two years, the most active in trying to make sure that this country should be helpless to defend itself if it became involved in war. The strong are the best peace-keepers. This country, which is both rich and populous, holds its ideals in low esteem when it is unwilling either to spend money for them or to accept universal training. We should have at least an even chance to maintain right as against those who would perpetrate wrong by force. In connection with President Wilson's expressed willingness to enter into a world league to enforce peace, Congress and the country, late in January, declared the strongest adherence to the Monroe Doctrine. But if we mean to help our sister republics of the Western Hemisphere to maintain their independence and work out their aspirations, we must double our navy and provide for an army.

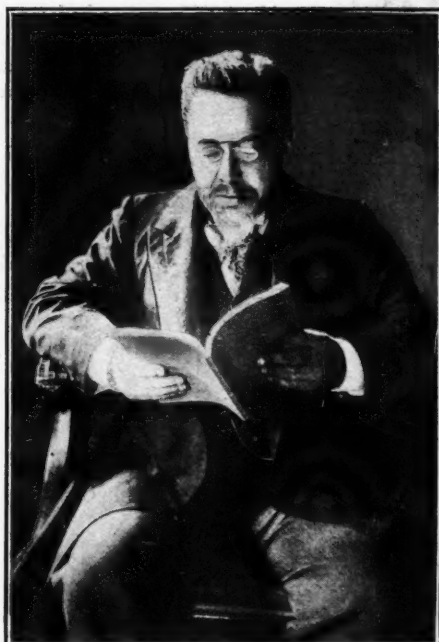
*What Training
Means*

There is only one way to find the sailors for such a navy, and that is to make the service attractive, instructive, and reasonably brief, for great numbers of young men, so that they may return to civil life in better health, with better education, and with enlarged capacities, whether for private enterprise or citizen service. The only way to obtain an army in time of need is to train all boys with preliminary physical exercise in the school period, and to give them a certain amount of military training as they approach manhood. A brief period of service in camp and field could be, and must be, made so instructive and useful as to transform the lives of millions of young men. Those who have this conception are not lacking in high ideals. All sensible people are pacifists and are idealists. But the wiser ones are those who look facts directly in the face. The most sensible idealists last month were those engineers and business men who were trying to organize the industries of the country for immediate governmental service in case of need.

*Mr. Wilson's
New Term*

Mr. Wilson is to be inaugurated for his second term on the 4th of March. The Sixty-fourth Congress reaches the end of its two-year period also on the 4th of March. Last No-

Mch.—2



SENOR POLO Y BERNABE, SPANISH AMBASSADOR AT BERLIN, IN CHARGE OF AMERICAN INTERESTS

(This well-known diplomatist took charge of American interests in Germany when Ambassador Gerard's functions were terminated early in February. He also now represents several Allied governments, whose interests had been in Mr. Gerard's hands. It is worth while to recall the fact that Senor Louis Polo y Bernabe was Spanish Minister at Washington in 1898, when we broke relations with Spain. He succeeded Dupuy de Lome, who had resigned a few months before, after friction with our Government.)

vember the voters in 435 constituencies elected the members of the Sixty-fifth House of Representatives. As the expiring Congress has been floundering along through the three months that end its term, it has seemed to many thoughtful people an unfortunate thing that we should have so obsolete a system. The men who received the mandate in November ought to have met as the law-making body in December. The expiring Congress is not representative of the country. In a period calling for unselfish patriotism, its members have been frantically trying to empty the Treasury for the benefit of their localities. Nothing but the stern disfavor of President Wilson could have checked the greed of the looters. If this language seems strong, the reader must remember that the deliberate framers of "pork bills" are not sensitive, and do not mind hard names if they can only get the "pork." At the last moment, Congress does for defense a part of what it should have done in 1914.

A Disappointing Session President Wilson has had many good things on his program in the past four years, and he has accomplished much, not through the spontaneous cooperation of the majority in the Sixty-third and Sixty-fourth Congresses, but through the power of the Presidency to compel obedience. In these last months, however, the expiring Congress has chosen to go its own way. There seemed little hope for any of the measures that President Wilson had included in his necessary program for the winter's session. Congress had been showing scanty enthusiasm for naval or military preparation, and had apparently thrown to the winds the measures intended to do justice to the railroads. It began to look as if the new Congress might have to be called into session at once.

As to an Extra Session There will, of course, in the last hours of this session, be a great effort to pass appropriation bills and obviate the need of an extra session. Republicans and Democrats are almost evenly divided in the new House, and the balance of power will be in the hands of four or five independent members. No one knows whether this will give the organization of the chamber to the Republicans or to the Democrats. Republican success would probably confer the Speakership upon Mr. James R. Mann, of Chicago, who has been the leader of the Republican minority for several years. The floor leadership, it is understood, would be given to Mr. Lenroot, of Wisconsin. Mr. Fordney, of Michigan, would be chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, and Mr. Augustus Peabody Gardner, of Massachusetts (see a notice of his personality and career on page 306), would assume a well-

earned position of influence, especially in the promotion of naval and military preparedness. The Senate is a continuous body, but one-third of its seats are refilled every two years. In our number for December we listed and explained all the Senate changes resulting from November's election. The Democratic majority will be reduced, and the body itself will be somewhat strengthened in personnel. The President should, if possible, consult this new Congress, rather than the expiring one, upon great issues of war, peace, and national defense.

Cabinet and Policy There was no authoritative news, when these pages were written, regarding changes in the President's cabinet. It was said that Mr. Wilson had invited all the members to retain their seats. There is much difference of opinion in the country regarding the caliber and efficiency of this executive group. Taking the body as a whole, we have been compelled by the force of ordinary facts, to think highly of their departmental work. The record seems to be better in detail than in larger achievement. The State Department has been diligent, but it has not solved its problems. Its outstanding issues thicken and multiply.

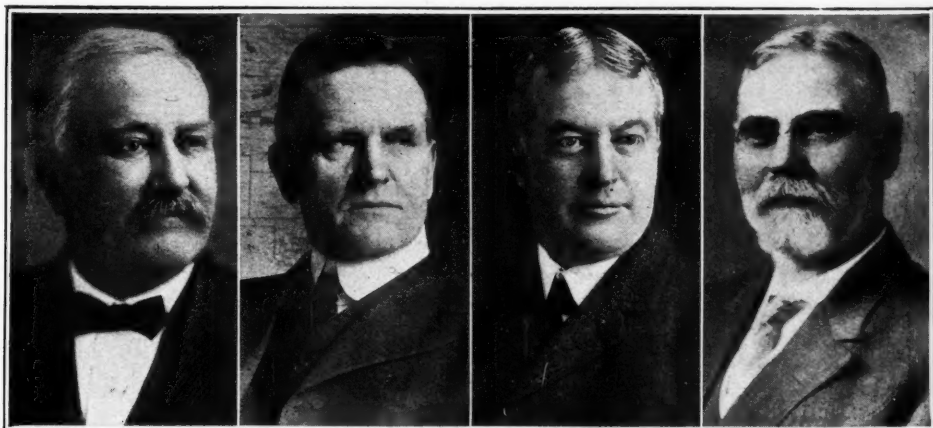
Naval policy remains a thing on paper, not translated into fact. Army policy has been dismally unsuccessful—perhaps the most monumental failure of our history. Administration in several other departments has been excellent, even if leadership has not been sufficiently asserted or achieved. With Congress almost evenly divided, there are those who advocate a so-called "coalition" cabinet. There is not, however, much partisanship in the present group, apart from two or three members. Economic policies tend to be scientific rather than partisan.



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A NEW PICTURE OF THE PRESIDENT, WITH MRS. WILSON

(The electoral votes for President were counted in joint session of Congress on February 14, the electors chosen in November having previously met and voted in their respective States. Wilson received 277 votes and Hughes 254. The picture above is from a photograph taken at Admiral Dewey's funeral. Mr. Wilson begins his second term on Sunday, the 4th of March, the inaugural ceremonies occurring on Monday, the 5th.)



JOSEPH W. FORDNEY
(Michigan)

IRVINE L. LENROOT
(Wisconsin)

© Harris & Ewing
AUGUSTUS P. GARDNER
(Massachusetts)

JAMES R. MANN
(Illinois)

FOUR REPUBLICAN CONGRESSMEN WHO WILL BE ESPECIALLY PROMINENT IN THE NEW HOUSE

*Nationalism
and the
Democrats*

Fortunately, the Democratic party is becoming nationalistic. This country would have been in a fearful plight during the European war, but for the Republican policy which undertook to diversify our domestic industries in order that we might not be wholly dependent upon European markets to take our raw materials and upon European mills and shops to supply our textiles and other necessary articles of manufacture. Already the European countries have bound themselves in trade alliances looking to the future. Doctrinaire free trade is wholly forgotten. Our trade policy, like our naval policy, will have to reckon with the facts of the world in which we live. Otherwise, we shall be isolated.

*Need of a
Policy Board
for Advice*

It seems to be the rule to work out our policies through special boards and advisory councils. We have frequently noted in these pages the tendency to bring broad experience to the Government service through these methods. Thus the Federal Reserve Board and the Federal Trade Commission are examples of the new method, and we are soon to have a Tariff Board on similar lines. The Department heads have so much to do, now that the Government business committed to them has become so enlarged, that they no longer have the time, as once they did, to perform the larger functions of a cabinet council. In a period like this, when foreign problems are so numerous and so acute, the Department heads are not the group to advise the President on such matters; neither are the tech-

nical officials in the State Department. There is great need of a standing council of some kind—the personnel depending wholly upon the pleasure of the President—whose knowledge and experience should be at the disposal of the Government. The Democratic party has such men of wisdom as Mr. Olney, Judge Gray, and Mr. Judson Harmon, to mention only a few. The Republicans have at least three men who have served as Secretary of State—namely, Mr. John W. Foster, Mr. Elihu Root, and Mr. Robert Bacon (Mr. Knox is Senator-elect). Such a board



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BUILDING THEM UP AT THE ELEVENTH HOUR
From the *Globe* (New York)



Photograph by American Press Association

THE COUNCIL OF NATIONAL DEFENSE AT A RECENT MEETING IN WASHINGTON

(From left to right are: Julius Rosenwald, Bernard N. Baruch, Dr. Hollis Godfrey [Chairman], Daniel Willard, Secretary Wilson, Secretary Houston, Howard E. Coffin, Secretary Daniels, Dr. Franklin H. Martin, Secretary Baker, Secretary Redfield, and Samuel Gompers)

would not weaken the Constitutional authority of the President and the Senate, but would help to lift foreign policy above partisanship, and to give it consistency through successive Presidential terms.

*Preparing
at Last*

An illustration of the new method of utilizing the services of semi-official boards and councils was given by the plans of the recently constituted National Council of Defense, which became active last month. A railroad president in this Council heads a committee on transportation. A great engineer and manufacturer leads in the organization of industry for munition-making and other industrial needs. One of the greatest merchants of the world undertakes to aid the Government in obtaining supplies, such as food and clothing. The utilization of scientific research is a matter of vast importance, and finds suitable leadership in the person of a great expert in engineering and technical education. On February 13, the House passed a Naval bill providing a total of \$369,000,000, by a vote of 353 to 23. The sum of a million dollars

was voted for purchase of basic aeroplane patents. The President was authorized to take over all private shipyards and munition plants in case of a "national emergency arising prior to March 1, 1918." Extraordinary efforts were entered upon last month to enlist recruits for the navy. It may prove easier to build and equip the ships than to find their crews. Especial inducements will be necessary.

*Belgium in the
New Crisis*

Much apprehension was felt lest the American break with Germany should interrupt the work of Belgian relief. Mr. Herbert Hoover, the chief organizer of that relief work, had recently come to the United States to arouse fresh interest and secure larger funds. It is not generally known in the United States that the English and French Governments, recognizing the inestimable services rendered to them by Belgium, are very properly providing, through stated monthly advances, for the greater part of the work carried on by Mr. Hoover and his agents. Americans might well have given more, but their voluntary offerings have been on a generous scale.

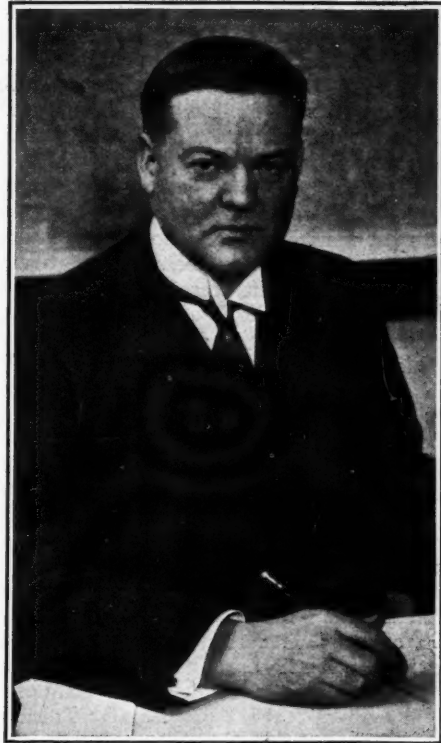
Mr. Brand Whitlock will probably have had to leave Brussels, and in many ways the change of America's official attitude toward Germany will be unfortunate for the suffering Belgians, as it will be for a vast number of other interests in different parts of the world, including the belligerent capitals.

*Results of
U-Boat Cam-
paign*

The only phase of the European war that was prominent last month was the submarine campaign that we have been discussing. Our paragraphs, however, have been occupied more especially with the relationship of the United States to the new German policy. We have in preceding pages intimated our view that the campaign would be a failure. In the first half-month, somewhat more than a hundred vessels were sunk, nearly two-thirds of them being British, almost a third being neutral, and a very few belonging to other belligerents. The tonnage of these vessels was somewhat in excess of 200,000. The Germans had declared that they would destroy 1,000,000 tons a month, and thus end the war in two or three months by creating a famine in England. In the middle of February, Berlin official statements expressed confidence, not so much on the ground of the ships actually destroyed, as upon that of the vessels kept in port through fear. But there were, on the other hand, significant indications that the zone of terror was being navigated by the English with diminishing risk, and that the plan of convoying merchant ships would be successful. Meanwhile, England has been studying and applying schemes of food economy, and planning for increased agricultural production at home.

*The
Situation at
Large*

There has been less general war news than during any previous month since August, 1914. Many minor actions on the fighting fronts have not affected the main lines. Both sides have been preparing on a prodigious scale for what is expected to be the final test of strength when spring opens. The European winter has been one of unusual severity. Military operations on a large scale have been impossible, on account of the weather conditions. The political reorganizations in European countries that were so much discussed a few weeks ago are now accepted as established facts. Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues are strongly supported in England, where a tremendous popular campaign for subscriptions to the new war loans has



© Paul Thompson

MR. HERBERT C. HOOVER

(Head of the Belgian Relief Commission who has been in the United States for some weeks securing further aid for the Belgian people)

been carried on with brilliant success. Mr. Charles Johnston writes for us this month on the situation in Russia. There was some hope that Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey might avoid the breaking off of diplomatic relations with the United States. Our Ambassador, Mr. Penfield, was anxiously awaiting events at Vienna, while the newly arrived Austrian Ambassador, Count Tarnowski, was waiting at Washington to know whether to present his credentials or not. Ambassador Elkus, at Constantinople, was seeking to safeguard American teachers, missionaries, and merchants still in the Turkish Empire. The reply of the Allies to President Wilson, in which they had stated their intentions regarding Austria and Turkey, had stiffened Germany's allies for resistance, and increased the prospect of intense fighting in the months to come. Excitement in Greece had greatly abated, so far as we know. But a rigid censorship, enforced by French officers, has shut off Athenian news.

*The President
on World
Peace*

So stirring are the times in which we live, that some new sensation obscures the thing that held public attention only a few days before. Thus President Wilson's break with Germany, and Germany's new submarine policy, had caused everybody to forget that on January 22 the President had appeared before the Senate and had delivered what in many respects was the most remarkable utterance of his entire career. It was an expression of his views regarding permanent peace, and the principles that must underlie a stable future for the nations of mankind. It had grown out of his note of the 18th of December to the belligerents, asking them to state the things for which they were fighting and the terms upon which they would make peace. The Central Powers had replied that they were fighting for national existence and would give details as soon as they could meet their adversaries in conference. The Entente group had replied that they were fighting for the security of nations small and great, and that their program must include the rehabilitation of Belgium, Serbia, and Rumania, the cession of Alsace-Lorraine to France, the acquisition of territories desired by Italy, the fulfillment of Russia's program for Poland, the granting of Constantinople to Russia, the reconstruction of Asiatic Turkey, Balkan rearrangements favorable to Serbia and Rumania while unfavorable to Bulgaria, and so on. It was subsequently stated that the British Empire intended to retain the German colonial possessions, the inference also being that Japan would retain Germany's port and hinterland in China. President Wilson could not well address the European powers in a further note on the subject of peace terms; but he decided to give the world his views in the form of a speech to the Senate. His essential point was that the people of the United States must "add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations, to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world."

*The
Cardinal
Principles*

Summing up the expressions he had obtained from the powers at war, President Wilson concluded that neither side "had in mind to crush their antagonists." He proceeded to declare that this must mean "a peace without victory." He explained this on the ground that, to be permanent, peace must be something better than "a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished." He next

made the point that there must be development of popular rights, and that there must be an end of systems which "hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property." He held, next, that "every great people" so far as possible, should have "a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea." Following this was his proposal that there must be "limitation of armaments and coöperation in keeping the seas at once free and safe." Finally, he proposed an extension of the principles of the Monroe Doctrine to the entire world. By this he meant that "no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people." The whole world was stirred by this great address. Many European statesmen endorsed its doctrines. There followed an important debate in the Senate, in which several leading Senators, while recognizing the ideal value of the President's aims, did not believe that the speech was sound from the standpoint of an immediate program of foreign policy for the United States. When the great peace conference sits, however, the President's plea for democracy, the giving up of balance-of-power alliances, and international coöperation for peace and safety, will undoubtedly have influence in the decision of more than one issue affecting the fate of some country or province.

*Carranza
and the
Germans*

First Chief Carranza has projected himself into the field of world diplomacy by a note suggesting that the United States and other neutral powers join in prohibiting the export of foodstuffs and munitions to the warring European countries. Reports of a concentration of German subjects and interests in Mexico led many Americans to interpret this Carranza manifesto as a distinctly pro-German utterance, possibly "inspired" at Berlin. Its arguments, at any rate, seemed distinctly Teutonic. There have been persistent rumors that in the event of war between the United States and Germany Mexico would be a convenient base of influence for the Central Powers. It is natural that army men and others who have watched the Mexican situation closely during the past two or three years should be concerned at these developments, but thus far the general public has no knowledge of any facts that would justify the fears expressed in pro-Ally circles. There was some stir in England over the suggestion that Carranza would try to cut off the oil supply from Tampico.

**Pershing
Quits
Mexico**

Early last month the troops composing the Pershing expedition to Mexico recrossed the international boundary at Columbus, N. M., the point from which they had started in pursuit of Villa, the raider, ten months before. That bandit chieftain is far more powerful to-day than he was ten months ago, but his activities for many weeks have expended themselves on his own afflicted land and the American border no longer suffers from his raids. Although seriously hampered, especially by inability to use the railroads of the country, the expedition was conducted, from first to last, in a way that reflected credit on American arms. The force of over 10,000 seasoned men would form the nucleus of a highly efficient army of defense in time of need. Meanwhile, the Carranza Constitutionalists are proceeding with their program of constitutional government. The Congress elected last month will meet in extraordinary session on April 15, and before that date a Presidential election will have been held. Ambassador Fletcher has taken up his residence in Mexico City and Ignacio Bonillas, a member of the Mexican-American Joint Commission, has been named as Mexico's Ambassador to the United States.

**Huge Earnings
of the Steel
Corporation**

On January 30 the financial market was surprised, even after various optimistic advance estimates, by the report of the United States Steel Corporation's earnings for the last quarter of 1916. The gain for the three months was \$106,000,000—more by \$20,000,000 than the highest previous record for three months, which had been made in the preceding quarter. The earnings for the whole year were \$333,000,000, an increase of more than \$200,000,000 over the year before, while in 1914 the entire year's net income was only \$71,000,000. The surplus for the year 1916 applicable to dividends on the common stock of the Corporation was equal to no less than 48 per cent. on the outstanding shares. More marvelous still, the earnings in the last months of the year were at a rate which, if maintained, would show over 100 per cent. on the common stock. These figures are printed here because they furnish the most dramatic illustration of the effect on the basic industry of the United States of the prosperity started up by war orders. They are made more dramatic by a comparison with the great steel company's condition as late as October, 1914, when, in

consequence of meager earnings, a dividend on the common stock was suspended altogether. The United States Steel Corporation has not at all entered into the business of war orders proper. In other words, it does not manufacture shells and other munitions, though it is true that it produces the steel for vast quantities of munition orders that are being filled by other companies.

**Business Con-
tinues in Spite
of War Talk**

Many authorities in the iron and steel industry had thought the peak of high prices and earnings had been reached last year. They are now inclined to revise their opinion, for steel prices have continued to climb, and in the middle of February were higher than they had been for more than a generation. Copper, too, was at the highest price in forty-five years. Business in general seemed to go on at the full speed it had reached in 1916, although the nation was reading every day in the papers that war with Germany was probably only a matter of hours or days. This is in curious contrast with the summer and autumn of 1914, when the fact of war thousands of miles away, with no thought whatsoever that we would be touched by it, was sufficient to paralyze the business of the United States and throw the Stock Exchange into such a panic that it had to be closed for the longest period in its history.

**Railway Con-
gestion and
Labor Troubles**

On February 15 representatives of thirty of the most important railroads of the country met at Washington and agreed to declare an embargo on all shipments for export from eastern points. This measure was made necessary by the disastrous congestion of freight traffic following on the submarine blockade and aided by the cold weather and the car shortage. The officers of the railroads estimated that more than thirty thousand cars of freight were tied up in the yards at Chicago and west of that point, and some of the freight had been held for more than a month. The failure of many trans-Atlantic liners to sail in the face of the submarine peril had made a chaotic jam of unloaded cars at Atlantic tidewater terminals, and the radical embargo measure was considered necessary in order to make sure that food products and coal could be supplied to eastern cities. Earlier in the month an ominous strike order had been voted, on certain technical grievances, by the Chicago switchmen of eighteen different railroads, the yard men

empowering their leaders to issue a strike order at their own discretion. The labor leaders are, however, showing a commendable disposition to refrain from any action which would further embarrass the country at this time of need, when the possibility of war would make a general tying up of railroad traffic an unthinkable calamity.

*Great Financial
Strength of
This Country*

The annual report of the Federal Comptroller of the Currency presented to Congress on February 5 makes an extraordinary showing of the present financial resources of the nation. Mr. John Skelton Williams, the Comptroller, remarks that the United States seems to-day to be "entrenched financially almost as firmly as it is possible for any human government to be. Practically the whole world is indebted to us and is steadily increasing its obligations. Our financial condition in relation to other peoples and the world at large becomes stronger from week to week and from month to month."

*A Warning from
the Federal Re-
serve Board*

Some weeks ago the Federal Reserve Board took occasion to warn the national banks against investing too heavily in foreign bonds, the warning being based not on any suspicion of the goodness of the securities in the long run, but on the necessity during the present uncertain times for our banks keeping their resources in as liquid a condition as possible. On February 3 this warning was renewed in the Board's annual report to Congress and there was added the opinion that it would be wiser to have a reduction in American exports or a settlement for them in gold than to allow our banks to extend unduly their investments in foreign securities at this time. The Board takes care to add that the purchase of the desirable foreign loans by American investors may be regarded as a healthy and normal operation. In this report the activities of the Federal reserve banks for the past year are reviewed at length. While the

reserve banks have not been operated with profit as their primary object, they have all earned their expenses and in the aggregate have shown net earnings for the year of about 5 per cent. on their paid-up capital. The report calls attention to the public's confidence in the new banking scheme and the fact that the country has passed through such unusual shocks without any financial disturbance or any marked fluctuations in rates for commercial paper. The British view of our Federal Reserve Board's caution in the matter of foreign investments is illustrated by a recent speech of Sir Edward Holden, managing director of the London City Bank, at its annual meeting. He pointed to the enormous contributions the Allies had made to the gold reserve of the United States, facilitating the export of American commodities to an aggregate of some nine and a half billion dollars since the beginning of the war, and argued that the Allies are entitled to as much as seven billion dollars of loans from the United States, especially when the new loans have collateral security. Allied financiers are confident of unshaken solvency.

*Our Position
Compared with
1914*

At the time the great war began, the United States owed Europe about four hundred and fifty million dollars, payable in a few months, over and above between four and five billion dollars of our home securities owned by foreigners. After two years and a half of the war an almost unbelievable change has come in the international financial balance sheet. The United States has paid the current debt and now has, instead, Europe indebted to us by a huge balance. We have brought back nearly two billion dollars of our securities formerly held abroad, and have given Europe, in addition, about two billion dollars of credit. This credit was not all in the form of foreign bonds sold to Americans. One item of four hundred and fifty-eight millions is made up of the investments of our national banks in foreign credits.



RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From January 20 to February 16, 1917)

The Last Part of January

January 20.—The German Government presents to the United States a memorandum in defense of the deportation and compulsory employment of Belgian workmen.

January 21.—The chairman of the American Commission for Relief in Belgium, Herbert C. Hoover, returns to the United States to urge renewed efforts; he reports that there are 3,500,000 destitute persons in Belgium and 2,000,000 in the occupied portion of France, and he estimates that it will require more than \$150,000,000 to carry on the work of the commission for another year.

Premier Borden informs the Canadian Parliament that the Dominion has recruited an army of 434,539 men.

Official figures published at Washington show that in two and a half years of war the United States has exported to the Allies cartridges to the value of \$85,000,000; fire-arms, \$60,000,000; gunpowder, \$350,000,000; other explosives, \$475,000,000.

January 22.—President Wilson, addressing the Senate of the United States, gives expression to his views regarding peace: "First of all, it must be a peace without victory"; "there should be a united and independent and autonomous Poland," as a single instance of government only by consent of the governed; outlets to the sea should be neutralized; "the paths of the seas must alike in law and in fact be free"; and military as well as naval armaments must be limited.

British and German light naval squadrons meet in two minor engagements in the North Sea; the British official statement reports that one torpedo-boat-destroyer was lost on each side.

January 23.—It is officially announced that 69 persons were killed and 72 severely injured in an explosion that practically destroyed a large munition plant at Silvertown, a suburb of London, on January 19.

January 24.—On the Riga front, the Germans recapture from the Russians the ground lost during the recent Russian offensive.

January 25.—The transatlantic passenger steamer *Laurentic*, in the British naval service, is sunk by a mine off the Irish coast; 350 of the crew die from exposure.

In the Verdun district, the Germans attack and gain ground at four points.

January 26.—The Russian Foreign Office declares that President Wilson's address to the Senate "has made a most favorable impression upon the Russian Government"; free access to the seas, limited armaments, a free Poland—all are endorsed.

The French aviator, Lieut. George Guynemer, brings down his thirtieth German airplane, according to French official records.

January 27.—British announcement of the new "dangerous zone" in the North Sea—extending across the whole of the German coast and part of Denmark and Holland—is interpreted as meaning that the area has been mined by the British as a means of blocking the exit of submarines and sea-raiders.

It is learned that the former transatlantic passenger steamer *Minnewaska* was sunk by a mine in the Mediterranean on November 29, while serving as a transport.

January 31.—Germany declares that "from February 1, 1917, sea traffic will be stopped with every available weapon and without further notice" [without warning], in zones around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean; American passenger ships will be undisturbed if they sail once a week, bear certain markings, take a prescribed course, land only at Falmouth, arrive on Sunday and depart on Wednesday, and carry no contraband.

The British Secretary of State for the Colonies declares, in an address, that the captured German colonies will never return to German rule.

The First Week of February

February 1.—The Canadian Parliament votes a war credit of \$550,000,000 for the coming year; the total expenditure to date is \$440,000,000.

February 3.—The United States severs diplomatic relations with Germany, on the ground that the German Government's announcement of January 31 withdraws the assurance given on May 4, 1916,—that Germany would confine war operations to the fighting forces of the belligerents.

Newspaper compilations show that 200 Americans have lost their lives through German and Austrian submarine operations.

The German ambassador at Washington requests the Swiss minister, Dr. Paul Ritter, to take charge of German affairs in the United States.

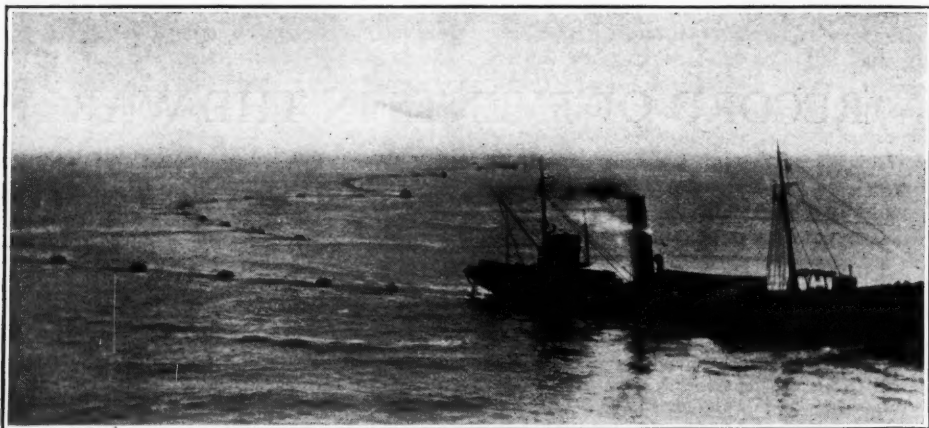
The United States demands of Germany the release of 62 Americans captured on British vessels in the South Atlantic and held as prisoners.

The American steamship *Housatonic* is torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine near the Scilly Isles, after warning, the crew being towed to safety.

February 4.—President Wilson expresses to neutral nations his belief that it will make for the peace of the world if they take action against Germany similar to that taken by the United States.

February 6.—The Director-General of National Service in Great Britain—Arthur Neville Chamberlain—outlines the Government's proposal for national service; every man and woman not already in army or navy work is urged to enroll for voluntary service.

February 7.—The end of the first week of Germany's new crusade against merchant ships shows



OPENING A PASSAGE THROUGH THE STEEL NETS WHICH PROTECT AN ENGLISH HARBOR

(This photograph escaped the British censor. It was taken by a passenger on a liner leaving Kirkwall Harbor, bound for New York. The nets not only block submarines, but contain mines which explode on contact)

a total of 58 vessels sunk (21 being neutral), with a tonnage of 115,000.

The British transatlantic steamer *California* is torpedoed without warning off the Irish coast; all but one of the passengers and crew are saved.

The British force the Germans to withdraw from Grandcourt, one of two fortresses protecting Bapaume on the west.

The Duke of the Abruzzi resigns his command of the Italian fleet, and is succeeded by Vice-Admiral Paolo Thaon di Revel, who also becomes Chief of the General Staff of the Navy.

The Second Week of February

February 8.—The French Government's measure providing civil mobilization is introduced in the Senate, it affects all able-bodied males between 16 and 60 not serving in the army.

Publication of the replies of neutral Governments to Germany's proclamation of unrestricted submarine warfare shows varying degrees of firmness and warning; all refuse to recognize the blockade as legal, but none follows the United States in breaking off diplomatic relations.

February 10.—The American ambassador, James W. Gerard, leaves Germany to return home via Switzerland; American affairs are placed in care of the Spanish ambassador, Señor Polo y Bernabe.

February 11.—The German report of fighting in the Ancre district of France, for the third time within a short period states that trenches were evacuated in preference to holding them against British attacks.

The British forces on the Tigris front make an important advance against the Turkish position west of Kut-el-Amara.

February 12.—Germany announces that the periods of grace for neutral ships in war zones have all expired, and that "shipping can no longer expect individual warning."

The United States Government refuses Germany's request (transmitted through the Swiss Minister at Washington) to discuss matters of difference, unless Germany first withdraws from the proclamation of January 31.

In compliance with a request of German authorities, Americans are withdrawn from relief work in Belgium and northern France; there are a few Americans excepted, who will exercise general supervision at Brussels.

The Mexican Government suggests to the United States that neutral nations combine to end the war by stopping all trade with the belligerents.

Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Bonar Law, informs the House of Commons that Britain's war expenditures have increased to \$29,000,000 a day; he asks for votes of credit amounting to \$2,750,000,000, to carry the war until the end of May (bringing the total to \$21,000,000,000).

Official German statistics of enemy airplanes destroyed, from the beginning of the war to February 1, place the number at 1002.

February 13.—Denmark, Norway, and Sweden present an identic note to Germany, refusing to recognize the submarine blockade as legal.

February 14.—The German ambassador, Count Johann von Bernstorff, sails from New York for home on a Danish steamer, under Entente guarantees of safe conduct.

It is announced that the British Government will take over the control of coal mines throughout the kingdom for the duration of the war.

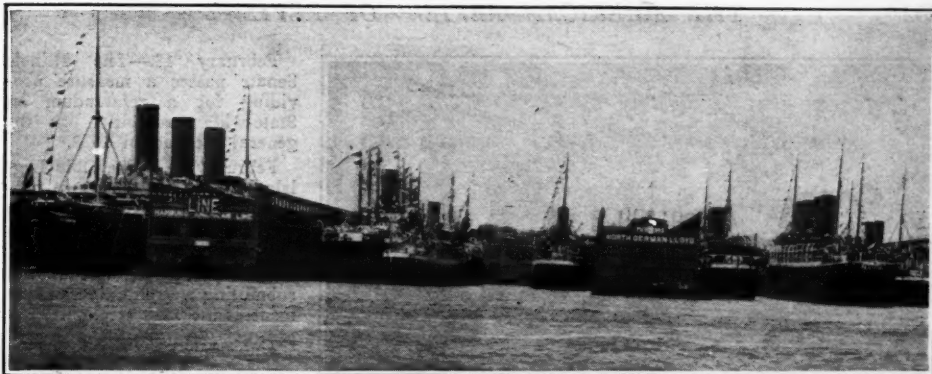
The Third Week of February

February 15.—At the end of two weeks of Germany's unrestricted submarine operations against shipping the vessels sunk total 93, with a tonnage of 193,000.

It is officially stated that the British since the beginning of the year have gained by harassing trench raids an average advance of three-quarters of a mile over a front of 10,000 yards.

Germany releases the American seamen brought in as prisoners on the captured British steamer *Yarrowdale*.

Great Britain designates Halifax as an examination port for neutral vessels crossing the Atlantic, in order for them to avoid Germany's submarine war zone.



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PART OF THE GREAT GERMAN FLEET OF OCEAN LINERS IN THE HARBOR OF NEW YORK

(The crisis with Germany last month caused much discussion regarding the status of German merchant ships. As private property, they, of course, remained undisturbed except for steps taken to prevent the possibility of their being sunk at their piers. The *Vaterland*, at the left of the picture, is the largest vessel afloat. At the extreme right is the *Friedrich der Grosse*.)

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From January 20 to February 16, 1917)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

January 22.—In the Senate, the President appears unexpectedly and gives expression to his views regarding the part the United States should play when peace comes in Europe; he expects that the United States will join the other nations in guaranteeing the permanence of a peace based upon terms of national rights, government by consent of the governed, the neutralization of outlets to the seas, the freedom of the seas, and the limitation of armaments.

January 24.—The Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce rejects that part of the Administration railroad legislation program which provides for prohibition of strikes and lockouts pending investigation. . . . The House Republicans, by vote of 108 to 15, return to the plan of a closed caucus abandoned several years previously.

January 26.—The Senate passes the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial Appropriation Bill (\$40,000,000.) . . . The House, by vote of 221 to 132, passes a \$38,000,000 Rivers and Harbors Bill, the second of the three so-called "pork-barrel" measures; the Democratic members, in caucus, approve an Emergency Revenue Bill, designed to raise \$200,000,000 by a tax on excess profits and \$22,000,000 by increases in inheritance taxes, also providing for the issuance of \$300,000,000 in short-term certificates and authorizing the sale of \$100,000,000 in bonds, besides \$230,000,000 of Panama Canal bonds remaining unsold.

January 29.—The House passes the Fortifications bill (\$51,000,000), the first of the defense measures; the Naval Committee completes the Naval appropriation bill, carrying a total of \$351,433,425 to provide for the second year of the three-year building program adopted in 1916.

January 30.—In the Senate, Mr. Cummins (Rep. Iowa) condemns the President's proposal in his address on January 22, as certain to involve the

United States in almost continuous war or in constant rebellion against the authority which the President's plan proposes to set up.

February 1.—The Senate approves the Fortifications bill. . . . The House passes the Immigration bill for the second time—over the veto of President Wilson—by vote of 286 to 106; the Emergency Revenue measure is also adopted by vote of 211 to 196.

February 2.—The House begins debate upon the Naval appropriation bill.

February 3.—Both branches assemble in the House chamber and are addressed by the President; he reviews the submarine controversy with Germany and informs Congress that in view of the measures announced on January 31—which withdraw the solemn assurances given to the United States—he has directed that diplomatic relations with Germany be severed.

February 5.—The Senate passes the Immigration bill over the President's veto, by vote of 62 to 19; the literacy test thus is adopted, after Presidents Cleveland, Taft, and Wilson had vetoed it.

February 7.—The Senate, by vote of 78 to 5, indorses the President's action in severing diplomatic relations with Germany.

February 10.—In the Senate, the Committee on Military Affairs reports a bill providing six months training, in army or navy, for all male citizens at the age of 19.

February 12.—The Senate debates the question whether American merchant vessels shall be permitted to carry guns as protection against submarine attacks.

February 13.—The Senate Finance Committee, reporting the Administration's Revenue measure, recommends doubling the provisions for a bond issue and the issuance of certificates of indebtedness. . . . The House passes the Naval appro-



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GERMAN BORN RESIDENTS DECLARING THEIR WISH TO BECOME AMERICAN CITIZENS—A COMMON SCENE LAST MONTH

priation bill, carrying a total of \$368,553,338, the largest in the history of the Government.

February 14.—Both branches assemble in joint session and canvass the electoral vote for President; Woodrow Wilson is formally declared elected over Charles E. Hughes by vote of 277 to 254.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

January 22.—The Supreme Court holds constitutional the so-called "blue-sky" laws in Ohio, Michigan, and South Dakota, the decision affecting legislation in other States regulating the sale of securities.

January 23.—Governor Frazier, of North Dakota, signs a measure extending the franchise to women, for all except constitutional officers.

January 24.—The contract for armor-piercing projectiles recently awarded to Hadfield's, Ltd., by the Navy Department, is annulled by the refusal of the British Government to permit delivery while its own needs continue.

January 26.—The North Dakota House passes a resolution providing for the submission of a new constitution to the voters; the legislation and constitution are the work of the Farmers' Non-Partisan League, which is in control of the State.

January 29.—President Wilson vetoes the Immigration bill, objecting not only to the literacy test, but to exempting those fleeing from religious persecution, as likely to lead to international complications.

February 2.—Anti-alien bills in the Washington and Oregon legislatures are withdrawn, after protest by the Japanese Ambassador to the State Department. . . . Governor Withycombe of Oregon and Governor Rye of Tennessee sign prohibition bills passed by the legislatures forbidding importation of liquor.

February 9.—Governor Goodrich signs the Statewide prohibition bill passed by the Indiana legislature, to take effect April 2, 1918. . . . Raymond B. Stevens, of New Hampshire, is named as member of the Shipping Board, succeeding Bernard N. Baker, resigned.

February 13.—The Illinois Senate passes a measure providing for a referendum on State-wide prohibition at the general election in 1918.

February 14.—The Ohio Legislature passes a measure providing for the extension of the Presidential franchise to women.

February 15.—The Minnesota Senate passes the House bill submitting a Prohibition amendment at the 1918 election.

AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH MEXICO

January 24.—The southernmost outpost of the American punitive expedition, at El Valle, is abandoned.

January 27.—Field headquarters of the Pershing expedition at Colonia Dublan (120 miles south of the border) is evacuated.

January 28.—The Secretary of War makes formal announcement that General Pershing has been ordered to withdraw his troops from Mexico.

February 5.—The American punitive expedition under General Pershing crosses the border into the United States at Columbus, N. M., marking the end of more than ten months' stay of 12,000 American soldiers sent to punish the bandit Villa for his raid on March 9, 1916.

February 10.—Henry P. Fletcher leaves Washington to take up his duties as the new American Ambassador to Mexico.

February 12.—Ignacio Bonillas, one of the members of the American-Mexican Joint Commission, is named as Mexican Ambassador to the United States.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

January 23.—Settlement is completed in the Chengchiatun incident, where Japanese troops clashed with native troops in China; punishment of Chinese officers and indemnity to Japanese is granted, but Japan withholds for the present the demand for police rights in southern Manchuria and eastern Inner Mongolia.

January 25.—The lower house of the Japanese Parliament is dissolved by the Emperor, as a solution of the situation created by the inability of Premier Terauchi to command a majority vote.

January 27.—The President of Costa Rica, Alfredo Gonzales, is deposed by the military forces, and administrative power is conferred upon the Minister of War, Federico Tinoco; the reported reasons are general objection to proposed taxes and to plans for a second Presidential term in defiance of the constitution.

January 31.—The delegates to the Mexican Constitutional Assembly at Queretaro sign the constitution on which they had been working since December 2.

February 11.—Insurrections break out at several places in Cuba, due to intense feeling over the disputed result of the Presidential election in November.

February 13.—President Menocal, of Cuba, calls for volunteers to suppress armed political uprisings; it is announced that the United States has agreed to furnish arms and ammunition to the Government.

February 14.—The United States Government gives warning that it will not recognize a Government in Cuba set up by organized revolt.

February 15.—Cuban Government officials declare that the insurrection will soon be suppressed; the revolutionists still remain in control of Santiago.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

January 26.—It is officially reported that 300 persons have been killed in an earthquake on the island of Bali (Dutch), Malay Archipelago.

January 26.—The Secretary of Labor estimates that during November and December wage increases of from 5 to 10 per cent. were given to 1,118,000 workers in the United States.

January 30.—The report of the United States Steel Corporation shows earnings of \$333,625,000 for the year 1916.

OBITUARY

January 21.—Edward C. Bodman, a widely known New York grain merchant, 77.

January 23.—Edward Thomson Fairchild, president of New Hampshire College, 62. . . . Manuel Baudouin, the distinguished French jurist, prominent in the defense of Dreyfus, 70.

January 24.—Major Charles A. Richardson, Civil War veteran and member of the Gettysburg National Park Commission.

January 26.—David E. Finley, Representative in Congress from South Carolina, 55.

January 27.—John R. Dos Passos, of New York, an authority on commercial and corporation law, 73. . . . Herman Rosenthal, head of the Slavonic department of the New York Public Library, 73.

January 29.—Evelyn Baring, first Earl of Cromer, 75 (see page 289). . . . Dr. James Robert Barnett, a former president of the Wisconsin Medical Association, 75.

January 31.—Prince Ching, Premier of China and former Minister of Foreign Affairs, 77.

February 2.—Alexander Ferris, a widely known member of the printing craft in New York, 62.

February 4.—Edgar Beecher Bronson, explorer, author, and former newspaperman, 60.

February 5.—Rear-Adm. Edward May, U.S.N., retired, formerly pay director of the Navy, 79.

February 8.—Henry Eben Burnham, United States Senator from New Hampshire, 1901-1913, 73. . . . Frederick Freeman Wheeler, prominent in the Prohibition party, 58. . . . Judge Robert Martin Douglas, of North Carolina, son of Stephen A. Douglas, 68.

February 10.—John J. Boyle, a well-known New York sculptor, 66. . . . Mrs. Pauline A. Shaw, of Boston, prominent in social and educational work.

February 11.—Henry FitzAlan-Howard, Duke of Norfolk, the ranking member of English nobility and foremost English Catholic layman, 69.

February 12.—John Adams Church, a dis-

tinguished New York consulting engineer, 73. . . . Charles Joyce White, professor emeritus of mathematics at Harvard University, 78. . . . Rear-Adm. George E. Ide, U.S.N., retired, 71. . . . Dr. Henry Dwight Holton, a widely known Vermont health official, 79. . . . Mrs. Pauline A. Durant, who with her husband founded Wellesley College (Massachusetts), 85. . . . Dr. Oswaldo Cruz, who rid Rio Janeiro of infectious diseases.



DR. HERMAN ROSENTHAL, OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

(Dr. Rosenthal, who died suddenly in New York City, on January 27, had been for many years Chief of the Slavonic Division in the New York Public Library. He was recognized as an example of the best type of human contribution that the old world has made to the new. Born in Russian Courland seventy-three years ago and speaking German as his native tongue, Dr. Rosenthal early became associated with most of the great figures in Russian literature in the days of his youth, including Tolstoy and Turgeniev. He came to America in 1881 and was connected with several farm colonies for Russian-Jewish immigrants. In 1892 he visited the Far East on a mission for the Great Northern Railroad, and his connection with the New York Public Library began in 1898. Dr. Rosenthal was a man of great learning in many fields and of unusual linguistic ability. This REVIEW has frequently been glad to avail itself of his generous assistance.)

February 13.—Henry S. Deforest, former Member of Congress from New York, 70. . . . Walter G. Charlton, judge of the Superior Court of Georgia, 65.

February 14.—Abraham Riker Lawrence, former justice of the Supreme Court of New York, 84.

BREAKING OFF RELATIONS WITH GERMANY



AWAITING THE OVERT ACT
From the *World* (New York)

THE past month, with its severance of diplomatic relations with Germany, has brought the United States more acutely into the war situation than it has been at any time since the great conflict overseas began.

Naturally, the new crisis has been the overshadowing theme for our American cartoonists, who have been clever and prolific in their presentation to our citizens of all phases of this latest submarine controversy.

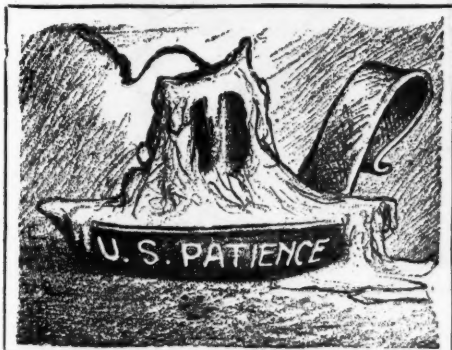


AMERICAN EAGLE: "Now then, mind you, this time I am very serious, and I am going to pounce upon you if—if—"

GERMAN EAGLE: "Thanks for this warning. I'll dive down when you come."

From *Hindi Punch* (Bombay)

The President is uniformly credited by the cartoonists with having exercised all due



USED UP!

From the *Post-Intelligencer* (Seattle)



STOP!

From the *World* (New York)

patience in his long-drawn-out negotiations with Germany over the submarine question. Judging by their clear-cut pictorial representations of American opinion, Mr. Wilson is receiving the backing of the country in his fight on "U-boat murder" and his defense of the rights of neutral nations in general and of America in particular.



BLAZING THE NEUTRALS' TRAIL

From the *Evening News* (Newark)



MR. BULL.—“HEY THERE, BILL! QUIT MUSSING UP MY OCEAN!”
From the *Globe* (Utica, N. Y.)



THE PERPLEXITY OF THE SEA “BOCHE”
“Which of the two shall I send down first? The one with the wounded or the other with the women and children?”
From *L'Asino* (Rome)



THE NEW FRANKENSTEIN
THE DEMON KING: “My Zeppelin monster has ceased to amuse the children. I must give the old Submarine another run with new tricks.”
From the *Star* (London)



GETTING UNDER COVER

(Referring to the great increase in the number of Teutons in America taking out citizenship papers since the break with Germany)
From the *Telegram* (New York)



THE KAISER'S MOVE
From the *News* (Dallas)



A CASE OF MISTAKEN IDENTITY
From the *Tribune* (New York)
Mch.—3



FASHION HINT FROM BERLIN

(This is one of many humorous cartoons apropos of the German directions for painting our merchant ships in order to insure their immunity from submarine attack)

From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn)



GRASPING A STRAW
From the *Tennessean* (Nashville)



HE'LL HAVE TO WORK TO BEAT THE D—L!
From the American (Baltimore)

Notes of defiance and counselings to keep cool are, of course, plentiful, but the most



THE HOT COAL
From the Evening Ledger (Philadelphia)



HOPE FOR THE BEST, PREPARE FOR THE WORST
From the Eagle (Brooklyn)

definite and unanimous demand of the country—if the cartoons are any indication of the state of public opinion—is for the prompt strengthening of our national defenses. In this vital matter, as many of the cartoonists properly point out, our country is lamentably behindhand.

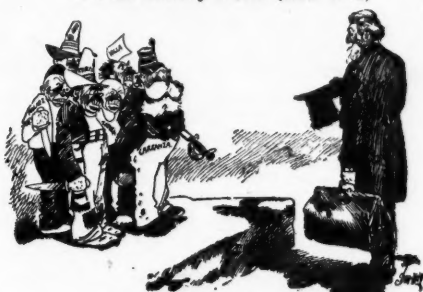


THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL
From the Knickerbocker Press (Albany)



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HOW TO SERVE YOUR COUNTRY!
From the *Evening World* (New York)

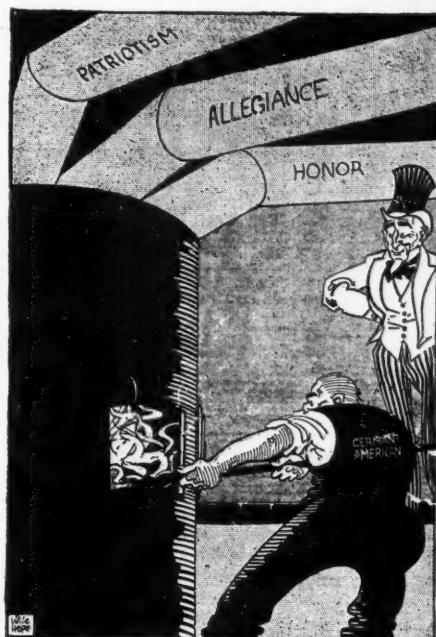


"NOW, REMEMBER BOYS, DON'T DO ANYTHING
NAUGHTY WHILE I'M GONE"
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland)



© 1917 by S. S. McClure.

THE EMPTY CAGE
From the *Evening Mail* (New York)



KEEP THE HOME FIRE BURNING
From the *Tribune* (Chicago)

There has already been ample proof that, in the event of hostilities with Germany, our citizens of Teutonic extraction will—in the words of the *Chicago Tribune's* cartoonist—"keep the home fire burning." Two cartoons on this page remind us that the Pershing expedition has returned from Mexico.



GETTING THE HARNESS ON
From the *Evening News* (Newark)



KING CONSTANTINE, AS "THE SANDED EEL"
THE CONCEALED BROTHER-IN-LAW (Kaiser Wilhelm):
"Wriggle, Tino! Wriggle! Wriggle like the deuce!"
TINO THE SLIPPERY: "Oh, it's all very fine! I think
I've done my bit at wriggling; but they've got some sand
or something now, and it's not so easy, I can tell you!"
From the *Pall Mall Gazette* (London)



A GERMAN NEWS DISPATCH, ILLUSTRATED
"Contributions of men and money for the German
army are being received in Poland. The Polish people
gladly respond to the call."
From *Mucha* (Moscow)



ILLUSTRATED FOLK SONG—BY THE CZAR
"Land of my dreams
How distant it seems!!"
From *Matyas Diak* (Budapest)



A GREEK CARTOON SHOWING GREECE AS A PLAY-
THING IN THE HANDS OF MARS

From *Hellas* (Athens)
Greece still remains a good deal of a play-
thing in the hands of the War God, as clev-
erly shown above in the cartoon from an
Athens newspaper.



KINGS WITHOUT A COUNTRY
(Albert of Belgium, Nicholas of Montenegro, and
Peter of Servia)
From *Blanco y Negro* (Madrid)

THE SITUATION IN RUSSIA

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON

PROBABLY the most trustworthy indication of the general outlook in Russia, particularly as regards the war, is to be found in the words of General Brusiloff to an English correspondent, on the eve of the new year:

Russia will not be able to bring all her forces to bear before the spring of 1917; and then she will possess the greatest and most complete army in her whole history. During the year 1916, we have been compelled to fight with a marked inferiority of material and of large caliber guns; the year 1917 will find us masters of a material equal to that of our adversaries, and we shall have, at the same time, an extraordinary superiority of men. This situation will continue in a steadily increasing degree until the end of the war. Our recruits each year are of the best possible quality, infinitely superior to any human material that the Teutons can dispose of, I am convinced, to fight against us in the campaign of the coming year. The situation in Rumania, however grave it may be, is not such as to cause real alarm, and, so far, has no strategical importance from the point of view of the general plan of the Entente Allies.

MINISTERIAL CHANGES IN RUSSIA

Before we examine the two main points in this important statement, it may be well to clear the ground by considering the change in the Russian Ministry at Petrograd—a change to which, perhaps, exaggerated importance has been given by the press here. There have been changes in all Allied countries. England, France, and Italy, besides Russia, have changed their Prime Ministers. France has had, since the war began, no less than five War Ministers: MM. Messimy, Millerand, Generals Gallieni, Roques, and Lyautey. But these changes have meant no deflection of war policy; each change has meant, perhaps, an intensification of the effort for victory. I think the same thing is true in Russia, though there is a constitutional struggle going on there, besides the effort to win the war.

There are, as it is true, pacifist forces in Russia, as there are in France and England; as there are in practically all neutral lands. There are actively pro-German forces, as there are in most neutral countries. There

are Russian politicians who seek to play, in Russia, the part Giolitti played in Italy, the part Caillaux continues to play in France—a part which their adversaries frankly describe as treason. But there is little to show that, in Russia, any more than in France or Italy, they have deflected, or will be able to deflect, the effort for victory.

In Russia, there is the complication of a party struggle: the effort of parties in the Duma to obtain "ministerial responsibility"—to make ministers directly responsible to the legislative body, and, probably, in time appointed by the legislative body. This is a very controversial point. In England, for instance, ministers are wholly responsible to Parliament. In the United States, nothing of the kind exists. Russia is even to-day in advance of the United States, in the fact that her ministers do, in practise, meet the Duma, address the Duma, and are questioned by the Duma, in marked contrast with our American practise. So that the effort to solve this vexed question, during the war, may seem inexpedient, and, consequently, the declaration of Prince Golitzin, the new Russian Premier, that no internal reforms will be put through during the war seems rather reassuring than the contrary, the more so as he further says that his program is: "Everything for the war, everything for victory!" There may be further ministerial changes at Petrograd; probably there will. But there is no sufficient reason to think they will in any degree deflect the determination to carry the war to a victorious end.

THE MENACE OF RASPUTIN

The doings and death of the hypnotic monk, Rasputin, received, in the foreign press and in this country, far more notice than they at all deserved, I think. We must remember that, in a country so mystical as Russia, striking developments are to be expected. Rasputin is the obverse of Father John of Cronstadt; both had extraordinary power and a prominence such as they might have had in medieval Europe. And the end of Rasputin,

evidently killed in a moment of exasperation at his hypnotic influence, was as sensational as his life. But that he at any time could by any possibility have brought about a separate peace between Russia and Germany, I find it quite impossible to believe. Further, the insinuation that the Empress of Russia, because she was a Princess of Hesse, is likely to be the center of a pro-German movement, is more than foolish. We should remember that the King of Rumania is a Hohenzollern, that the Queen of Belgium is of German birth.

The truth seems to be that all these sensational rumors unconsciously, or consciously, help the German scheme to sow distrust among the Allies, to weaken the bonds of the Entente. The most effective answer to them would seem to be the recent declaration of Mr. N. N. Pokrovski, the new Minister of Foreign Affairs: "The course of Russia's foreign policy remains what it was before. No changes in the personnel of the Government can cause either change or hesitation with regard to the path chosen once for all for Russia to tread, in accordance with the directions traced by our supreme leader, the Emperor. . . . The one pledge and condition of victory is the unshakable strength of the bond which unites Russia to the other Entente Powers . . . and Russia rejoices to pay the tribute of her just admiration to their bravery and self-sacrifice. Each of the Allies knows what we owe to each other, and how imperative is the necessity for our closest union, in order that our common cause may triumph. With unshaken fortitude, Russia will fight hand in hand with her allies, until the enemy is brought low . . ."

RUSSIA'S NEW ARMY

General Brusiloff speaks of "an extraordinary superiority of men," both in quantity and quality, as one of the coming factors in the war. We can easily check his figures. Experience has shown that, for each country, there is a maximum total of men, a point at which gains by recruitment are just equaled by losses at the other end, through age, sickness, death; and that this maximum is about equal to one-sixth of the whole population. In the case of Germany, this gives ten millions, and the principle is greatly strengthened by the fact that, in 1913, German war statistics computed her possible strength in men, trained and untrained, at just ten millions. Germany has lost four millions; she has about two and a half

million men on the western front, probably close on two million on the eastern front, and, therefore, a probable reserve of from a million and a half to two million, which cannot be increased. But Russia, with a population thrice that of Germany, has a maximum total thrice as great, or thirty millions. If we estimate her losses hitherto as double those of Germany—probably much in excess of the fact—this would leave her with more than twenty million men still to draw on; and the number of young men coming to military age each year in Russia is three times the number of the same class in Germany, or about a million and a quarter. So that General Brusiloff's estimate seems amply borne out by the figures. Russia's difficulty has never been to find men, but rather to train and equip them. And in both these directions she has made very great progress each year since the war began.

POLITICAL: THE BALKANS AND POLAND

We know that one purpose of the German drive against Verdun was the hope of dislocating the preparation of the Franco-British offensive, which later took shape on the Somme. It may appear that the German drive into Rumania was largely inspired by a similar hope of dislocating the great preparations General Brusiloff speaks of—the hope of inducing Russia to go off at half-cock. If so, it has failed in this.

It appears that the greater Entente Allies tried to dissuade Rumania from invading Transylvania, begging her to drive south against Bulgaria. When she refused to do this, it seems that Russia undertook the defense of the northern half of Rumania's west front, in the Carpathians, leaving Rumania to hold the remainder, the Transylvanian Alps. The Rumanian half of the defense broke down, throwing the whole burden on Russia; but, even so, she has not swerved from her purpose of preparing fully, before opening her new offensive. She has held on with the forces in hand.

From England comes the statement that Germany boasted she would raise a Polish army of 700,000 men, and that she has actually raised—700. The facts set forth by an American woman, Mme. de Gozdawa Turczynowicz, who saw the actual working of German methods in Poland, and has related them, make the reason for this failure pretty clear. In unison with Russia, all the Entente Powers, and likewise several neutral nations, have refused to recognize the new

"Polish Kingdom" under Teutonic influence, alleging that its sole purpose is to raise men for the German army, in flat violation of international law. The English figures quoted are a curious comment on that purpose, especially on the degree to which it is accepted, as being in good faith, by the Poles themselves. The Poles in Russian territory have not forgotten the treatment of their brothers across the German border, which has been brought home to them by patriotic committees. Further, there are large numbers of enthusiastically pro-Russian Poles, there are far greater numbers of pro-Polish Russians—Russians who esteem and value the Polish spirit, and would rejoice to see the fullest possible scope given to Polish genius. Further, they remember that the promise of the Emperor Nicholas, for a restored Poland, includes Austrian and Prussian as well as Russian Poland, while the German plan promises the Poles only what belongs to Russia.

In order that the plan of the Emperor Nicholas should be fulfilled, it is not indispensable that Russia should reconquer and reoccupy all Poland, and take possession of the Polish regions in Teutonic territory. What is needed is that the Entente armies, as a whole, should be so completely victorious as to be able to force their terms upon the Teutons. When they reach this point the Emperor Nicholas will have no difficulty in rebuilding Poland, and in reshaping the Balkans, according to the principle of nationalities. The degree to which Russia may contribute to such a victory is suggested by General Brusiloff's words.

RUSSIA AND CONSTANTINOPLE

Russia's desire for Constantinople has two causes: geographical and religious. To begin with the second: Russia owes her Christianity and the whole of her church tradition to the city of Constantine. Her heart goes toward it, as the hearts of medieval Christians went to Rome; as the hearts of the Crusaders went out to the holy city, Jerusalem. The great historic cathedral of the Eastern Church, of which Russia is by far the greatest member, is the Church of Saint Sophia, long desecrated and turned into a Moslem mosque. No small part of Russia's desire is to liberate that historic building and dedicate it once again to Christian worship.

There are imperative geographical reasons. The Russian Empire covers eight million square miles and has no warm-water port.

That is practical strangulation. She had battleships in the Black Sea at the time of her war with Japan. She was prevented by treaty from bringing them through. Again, Odessa, one of the greatest wheat ports in the world, is closed by the closing of the Straits. For two years, Russia has been unable to send out her wheat to the world's markets, and chiefly to England and France, which have therefore been compelled to buy far more largely from America. The increased cost of bread in every American town is directly influenced by this barring of Russia's back door by Turkey.

It is objected that a "small nationality" would be sacrificed by admitting Russia to Constantinople. But there is no nationality involved. Of the population of what remains of European Turkey, just equal to the population of Brooklyn, 1,880,000, perhaps one-half is Moslem; of this, only a small minority is really of Turkish blood, many being Slavs converted at the sword-point, or descendants of the famed Janissaries, who were all of non-Turkish blood. Nor is the patch-work despotism of Enver and Talaat in any sense national, since its heads are all in the pay of a foreign nation. The transfer of sovereignty to Russia would mean only the eclipse of men like these; the very Turks in Constantinople would be far better off, with much larger and more real liberty.

The Turkish Empire has never had a national government to lose. It has been, like all Moslem governments without exception, a more or less bloodthirsty military despotism; and Mohammedan peoples under England or France have far more national life than under their former despots. Russia already governs sympathetically and well about as many Moslems as there are in the Turkish Empire; England, of course, five or six times as many; and, without doubt, the Mohammedan native states of India, with Hyderabad at their head, enjoy a far larger and truer national life than the Moslem populations subject to the Sultan of Turkey. The Turks built no nation in Europe; they have not even a native name for their metropolis: Stamboul is simply bad Greek (*'s ten polin*, "to Town"). What is needed, it would seem, is an extension to the whole Turkish Empire of conditions like those already operative, with such high success, in Egypt. Russia is admirably fitted to do her part; she already governs well large Mohammedan, Buddhist and pagan populations, with perfect tolerance for their religions.

ORGANIZERS OF OUR ARMY AND NAVY



Photograph by Paul Thompson

GENERAL HUGH L. SCOTT, CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY

UPON Major-General Hugh L. Scott, Chief of the General Staff of the United States Army, and upon Admiral William S. Benson, President of the General Board of the United States Navy, will fall the main responsibilities of organizing the military and naval forces of the nation for a successful conduct of operations in the event of war. Both officers are men of energy, sound judgment, and ripe experience, and both enjoy the confidence of the President.

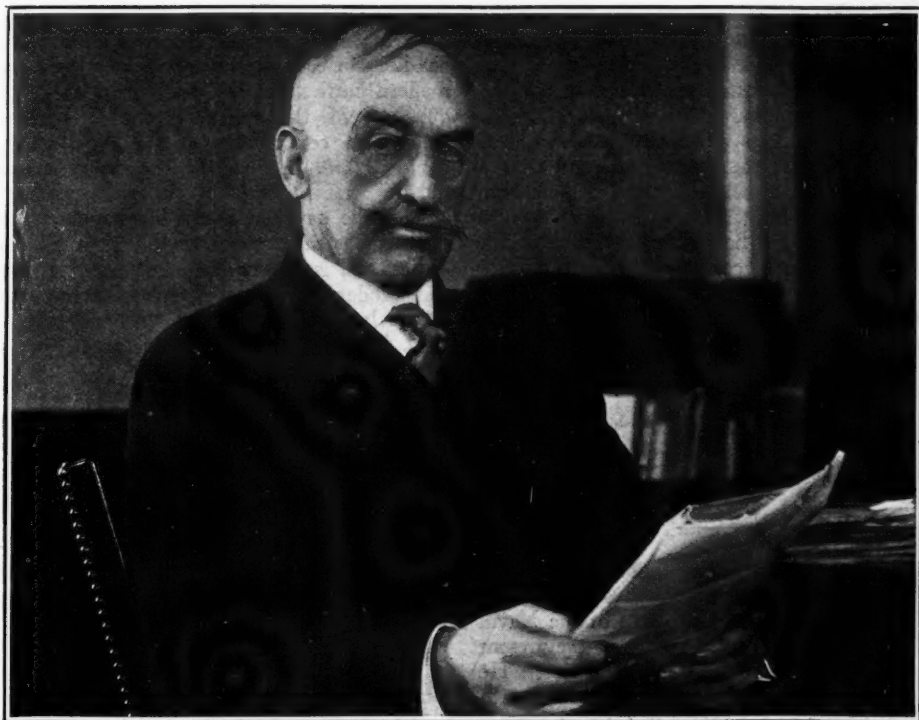
They are also surrounded by a corps of the most capable officers, and are well able to properly handle the military situation at one of the most critical times in the nation's history.

I. MAJOR-GENERAL SCOTT

Major-General Hugh L. Scott, as Chief of the General Staff of the Army, is military adviser to the Secretary of War. The supervisory power vested by statute in the Chief of Staff covers, primarily, duties pertaining to the command, discipline, training, military operations, recruitment of the Army, armaments, fortifications, etc. His office is divided into four divisions: Mobile Army Division, Coast Artillery Division, Bureau of Militia, and War College Division.

General Scott, a Kentuckian, was graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1876, when he was promoted in the Army second lieutenant 9th Cavalry, but was transferred to the 7th Cavalry just after his former assignment. He was an officer of the 7th Cavalry until February 25, 1903, when he was promoted major 3d Cavalry. He was later transferred to the 14th Cavalry, and was promoted lieutenant-colonel in March, 1911. He was promoted colonel 3d Cavalry in August, 1911, was appointed brigadier-general in March, 1913, and major-general in April, 1915.

General Scott has had years of experience in the field with troops, having taken part in Indian campaigns in his younger days, and later in the Spanish-American war and the Philippine insurrections. As a lieutenant, General Scott spent seventeen years on the frontier among the Indians, and through his association with Indian tribes he became an adept in the use of various tongues and in the Indian sign language. A most remarkable measure of success attended his administration among the Sioux and Blackfeet Indians, and the savage Moros of the Jolo archipelago, and the Igorrotes of Luzon, through his sympathetic, and yet kindly and just treatment of these tribes. Only some four years ago General Scott went single-



© International Film Service

REAR-ADMIRAL WILLIAM S. BENSON, WHO WILL BE THE RANKING OFFICER OF THE NAVY IN CHARGE OF PLACING THE GREAT SEA-FIGHTING FORCE ON A WAR FOOTING

handed among a swarm of Indians in Arizona who were going on the war path, and persuaded them to remain peaceful. During the early Indian troubles, while he was an officer of the 7th Cavalry, he organized and commanded Company L, 7th Cavalry, composed of Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians, and this unit rendered efficient service for five years, which was the term of their enlistment.

General Scott, during his many years of service on the frontier, was also engaged in scouting, constructing telegraph lines, and exploring. He served as Assistant Adjutant-General of volunteers during the war with Spain, and also as Adjutant-General of Volunteers in the Department of Havana, Cuba. He was superintendent of the United States Military Academy at West Point, and served in the Military Information Bureau at Washington. He was appointed Chief of the General Staff November 17, 1914.

General Scott was sent to Mexico in 1915, in an endeavor to bring about an understanding looking for peace between Villa and Carranza. He did succeed in removing

some of the unreasonable restrictions which the Mexican leaders had been placing on American industries in Mexico. The general is known as one of the best administrative officers in the Army. He will reach the retiring age of sixty-four on September 22, next.

II. ADMIRAL BENSON

Admiral William S. Benson, with the death of Admiral Dewey, became senior ranking officer of the Navy, by reason of his being Chief of Naval Operations at the time. With the death of Admiral Dewey, Admiral Benson also became President of the General Board of the Navy. This board devises measures and plans for the effective preparation and maintenance of the fleet for war, and prepares plans for campaigns, including cooperation with the Army, and the employment of all the elements of naval defense.

Admiral Benson was graduated from the United States Naval Academy in 1877, and during a sea service of some twenty-two years has cruised practically all over the

world. He circumnavigated the entire coast of Africa during one cruise. He was a member of the famous Greely relief expedition of 1883. From the very beginning of the modern navy he has had a varied and useful experience with its upbuilding. He inspected the material for the construction of the first modern vessels, during the eighties, which were later known as the "White Squadron." He has served in the branch Hydrographic Office, has been instructor in seamanship, naval architecture, and naval tactics at the Naval Academy, has served as commandant of Midshipmen, and was in

command of the Naval Academy practise squadron on its annual cruise in 1908. He has been in command of several of the most modern battleships, and has served as Chief of Staff of the Pacific fleet. His most recent sea command was the superdreadnought *Utah*. He has also been in command of the First Division of the Atlantic fleet, and of the navy yard at Philadelphia. He has demonstrated superior ability in all his duties, and is one of the most popular ship commanders in the Navy, always having had, in the language of the sea, "a happy ship." The Admiral is a native of Georgia.

THE NAVY AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

AT the recent Washington meeting of the National Security League, Mr. J. Bernard Walker, as Chairman of the Naval Committee, presented a report on the present naval situation of the United States. He showed that this country is still the fourth naval power of the world in ships and other *materiel*, and fifth in respect to the number of officers and men. In sea-power the Committee regarded our position as exceedingly dangerous with respect to the other important maritime nations.

Taking up the question of construction, Mr. Walker briefly reviewed the provisions of the three-year plan on which the Government entered in conformity with the Naval Appropriation Law of 1916, and which has been closely followed in the Naval bill of 1917, which was passed by Congress last month. The comparative advantages and disadvantages of Navy Yard and civilian construction are weighed by the Committee, which finds at least three serious objections in Government work: (1) That the costs of such work are higher than under private contract; (2) that it requires investment in plant of large sums of Government money; and (3) that it occasions employment of a large force of workmen who are more or less controlled by party politics. The Committee believes that the best interests of the nation will be served by encouraging and stimulating civilian shipyards which can and will do the Government's naval work more quickly and economically than the Government itself can do it.

In view of the present emergency the Committee recommends that all naval work, whether done in private or in Government yards and shops, should now be placed upon a two- or three-shift-a-day basis. Great Britain has done this and has also brought about a distribution of skilled workmen among the unskilled, these furthering the doubling of production. The Committee cites the motor-car industry as an example of standardization, specialization, the provision of skill and labor-saving fixtures and intensive methods of instruction, through which much labor has been quickly taught to do work of high quality.

All things considered, the Committee is strongly of the opinion that though American labor, because of our better living conditions costs more than foreign labor, it is imperative that all the work done upon our machinery of defense, whether related to ships, guns, or other *materiel*, should be done by our own people. This would encourage Americans to acquire the necessary skill for this form of production and to adapt their plants and direct their ingenuity to the large-scale manufacture of everything needed by the country in the event of war. As a nation we must be independent of other nations in the matter of defense. The Committee further recommends that no contracts for munition work be awarded to foreign manufacturers.

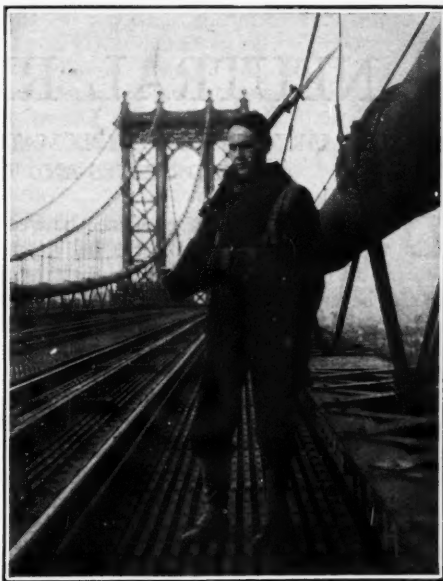
In the matter of number and class of ships for which provision was made in the three-year program of Congress, the Committee rules these specific changes: That in addition

to the ten Scout Cruisers provided for in the law, twenty-five ships of that class be built, to be laid down in 1918; that besides the fifty Destroyers authorized by law, seventy-five be added, fifty of them to be laid down in 1918, and twenty-five in 1919; that no coast Submarines be added to the fifty already authorized, but that forty additional fleet, or sea-going, Submarines be built at once.

As to the Government's shipbuilding policy in general, the Committee advocates a change amounting practically to a reversal, that is to say, instead of permitting the size of the Navy and the extent of our sea-power to be limited by meager shipbuilding facilities, it is urged that we should fit our shipbuilding facilities to the nation's needs. This would mean a great expansion of ship-yards and other industrial plants. Private industry must be encouraged to provide these additional facilities.

In the matter of air-service, it appears that the Navy is farther behind than in any other branch. The Committee is convinced that in this new field more can be accomplished in a given time and for a given sum of money than by doing any other one thing. It is recommended that the appropriations for this service be doubled and that the Navy Department be given a free hand in the expenditures.

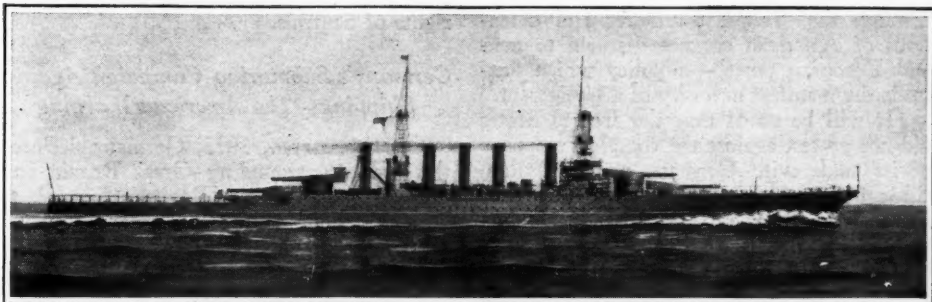
In dealing with the shortage of officers and men, which the Committee regards as the most serious problem now confronting the Navy, drastic and radical action is urged. Considering the fact that the Navy is even now far behind the authorized personnel, that thirteen Battleships, twenty-one Cruisers, and thirty-two Destroyers are now out of com-



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A NEW ARM OF DEFENSE—A MEMBER OF THE NEW YORK NAVAL MILITIA GUARDING THE TOP OF MANTAN BRIDGE ACROSS THE EAST RIVER

mission because of this shortage, that all officers require a training that can be got only at Annapolis and on board naval ships, it is the belief of the Committee that nothing short of a quadrupling of the establishment at Annapolis will meet the situation. Pending the construction of adequate buildings for the Academy temporary structures may have to be erected to house midshipmen and, finally, recognizing the difficulty of securing enlisted men under the present system, the Committee advocates the immediate adoption of a system of universal training and service.



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THE NEW BATTLE-CRUISER TYPE OF WAR VESSEL—FROM AN OFFICIAL DRAWING

(The naval appropriation bill of 1916 authorized the construction of four of these battle-cruisers. They will cost nearly \$20,000,000 each, and will take four years at least to build. Their principal characteristics are: Displacement, 34,800 tons; speed, 35 knots; length, 850 feet; beam, 91 feet; main armament, ten 14-inch guns. Compared with the *Iowa*, the pride of the navy in the Spanish war period, the new battle-cruisers will have three times the displacement, twice the speed, and ten instead of four large guns)

NEUTRAL RIGHTS AT SEA

A SUMMARY OF THE DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE BELLIGERENT GROUPS

DIPLOMATIC correspondence between the United States and the belligerent powers of Europe, regarding neutral rights at sea, began in the first week of war. On August 6, 1914, Secretary Bryan inquired of the governments at war whether they would be "willing to agree that the laws of naval warfare as laid down by the Declaration of London, of 1909, shall be applicable to naval warfare during the present conflict." [The Declaration had been adopted at a conference of maritime powers, but had not passed through the process of ratification—although there was no real opposition to it.]

Austria-Hungary and Germany replied affirmatively, but Great Britain's acceptance was subject to certain modifications. The United States Government therefore withdrew its suggestion that the Declaration of London be adopted as a temporary code of naval warfare.

By Orders in Council, dated August 20 and October 29, 1914, Great Britain altered provisions of the Declaration of London which related to contraband, neutral vessels, and neutral ports.

The Protest to Great Britain Against Restrictions on Neutral Commerce

On December 26, 1914, Secretary Bryan protested to Great Britain again "infringement upon the rights of American citizens" through the "frequent seizures and detentions of American cargoes destined to neutral European ports"—a policy which "exceeds the manifest necessity of a belligerent."

[It will be noted that the United States did not protest against the complete stoppage of its trade with Germany and her allies, through the creation of a closed military area in the North Sea, by Great Britain, on November 2, 1914.]

The British Government made preliminary reply on January 7, 1915. It intimated that interference with American trade with European neutrals could not be serious in view of the fact that the volume of that trade showed a marked increase over the previous

year. With regard to foodstuffs, "His Majesty's Government are prepared to admit that foodstuffs should not be detained and put into a prize court without presumption that they are intended for the armed forces of the enemy or the enemy government."

The more complete British reply (dated February 10, 1915) endeavored to prove that American trade had not suffered more than neutrals should expect to suffer during any great war, and cited precedents to justify its actions. Incidental admission was made of "the absence of a blockade."

It affirmed Britain's belief in "the principle that a belligerent should abstain from interference with the foodstuffs intended for the civil population." But where there "exists such a tremendous organization for war as now obtains in Germany"—"especially now that the German Government have taken control of all the foodstuffs in the country"—the reason for drawing a distinction between foodstuffs intended for the civil population and those for the armed forces or enemy government may disappear.

Eight days earlier, the British Government had made known its intention to seize grain and flour shipments, because of Germany's plan to regulate the distribution of those commodities.

This British reply closed with the statement that belligerent rights had been exercised with every possible consideration of the rights of neutrals.

Germany's Submarine Campaign Against Shipping—The American Warning

On February 4, 1915, Germany declared the waters surrounding Great Britain and Ireland, including the English Channel, to be a war zone—"just as England declared the whole North Sea between Scotland and Norway to be comprised within the seat of war." The reason given was that "Great Britain's conduct of commercial warfare against Germany has been a mockery of all the principles of the law of nations," planning "to strike not only the German mili-

tary operations, but also the economic system of Germany, and in the end to deliver the whole German people to reduction by famine." Therefore, "in retaliation of the practise followed by England," Germany proposed to destroy merchant vessels of the enemy within the zone indicated, and gave warning that "even neutral ships are exposed to danger."

The United States Government immediately (February 10, 1915) pointed out to Germany "the very serious possibilities of the course of action apparently contemplated," and declared that it "would be constrained to hold the Imperial German Government to a strict accountability." It urged that assurance be given "that American citizens and their vessels will not be molested by the naval forces of Germany other than by visit and search."

Germany replied on February 16, giving no assurance but restating in detail the German position. "If England invokes the powers of famine as an ally . . . the German Government are to-day determined to take up the gauntlet and to appeal to the same grim ally." The German note reminded the American Government that England had ignored neutral protests, and that "Germany is to all intents and purposes cut off from over-sea supplies with the toleration, tacit or protesting, of the neutrals." Therefore Germany relied on the neutrals who had submitted to "England's war of famine to display not less tolerance toward Germany." It recommended that neutral ships stay away from the area of maritime war, and declined all responsibility for accidents and their consequences. The note broadly intimated that Germany would gladly withdraw from its proposed submarine warfare "should the American Government . . . bring about the observation of the Declaration of London . . . and thereby render possible for Germany the legitimate supply of foodstuffs and industrial raw materials."

The United States Proposes Mutual Concessions by Britain and Germany

On February 20, 1915, Secretary Bryan sent an identic note to Germany and England, expressing "the hope that the two belligerent governments may, through reciprocal concessions, find a basis for agreement." As a sincere friend, he ventured to suggest a plan: Both to agree not to use mines except for defensive purposes, within cannon

range of harbors, and not to use submarines to attack merchant vessels except to enforce the right of visit and search. Germany to agree that imports of foodstuffs should be distributed, under American supervision, to non-combatants only. Great Britain to agree that such foodstuffs should not be interfered with.

The German Government replied on March 1, venturing to hope that such an agreement might be reached. It agreed not to use floating mines, but did not believe it "feasible for the belligerents wholly to forego the use of anchored mines for offensive purposes." It agreed not to attack merchant vessels except when necessary to enforce the right of visit and search. Should enemy nationality or presence of contraband be ascertained, "submarines would proceed in accordance with the general rules of international law." Enemy vessels should as a matter of course abstain from arming themselves and from all resistance by force. American regulation of food importations into Germany was in general acceptable.

Great Britain Rejects Our "Identic Note"

The British Government replied to Mr. Bryan's identic note on March 13, declaring that it did not understand from the German reply that Germany would "abandon the practise of sinking British merchant vessels by submarines" or "abandon the use of mines for offensive purposes." [See third paragraph following.] "This being so, it might appear unnecessary for the British Government to make any further reply." The note went on, however, to arraign Germany for its treatment of the civil inhabitants of Belgium and northern France, for its treatment of British prisoners of war, its bombardment of unfortified towns, and so forth.

As for the blockade, the British note argued that the right to stop foodstuffs destined for the civil population must be admitted "if an effective 'cordon' controlling intercourse with the enemy is drawn, announced and maintained." It declared that "the British fleet has instituted a blockade, effectively controlling by cruiser 'cordon' all passages to and from Germany by sea." As for considerations of morality and humanity, Britain cited the German statesman, Bismarck (in 1885) and Caprivi (in 1892)—who upheld the destruction of enemy trade and the stoppage of supplies, as means for shortening war.

In conclusion, this British note drew attention to a difference between the blockades of Germany and Great Britain: "We propose to attain it without sacrificing neutral ships or non-combatant lives."

Great Britain's contentions regarding German submarine warfare against merchant ships had been set forth in a note from the British Ambassador, Mr. Spring-Rice, to the American Secretary of State, dated March 1, 1915. He declared that a German submarine fulfils none of the obligations devolving upon the captor of a merchant vessel. She does not take her captures to a prize court, she carries no prize crew, she uses no effective means of discriminating between neutral and enemy, she does not receive on board for safety the crew and passengers of the vessel she sinks. Submarine methods of warfare against commerce are therefore, in the opinion of the British Government, outside the scope of international law.

Great Britain Decides to Prevent All Trade With Germany

Meanwhile, on March 1, 1915, the British Government announced that in retaliation against Germany's proposed submarine warfare it had "decided to adopt further measures in order to prevent commodities of any kind from reaching or leaving Germany." These measures were set forth in an Order in Council, promulgated March 15, stating that no merchant vessel would be allowed to proceed on her voyage from or to any German port.

The United States (on March 30, 1915) declared that: "These communications contain matters of grave importance to neutral nations. They appear to menace their rights of trade and intercourse, not only with belligerents, but also with one another." It therefore wished to make its own view and position "unmistakably clear" with regard to Britain's proposals. These were said to constitute "a practical assertion of unlimited belligerent rights over neutral commerce" and an almost unqualified denial of sovereign rights.

The note went on to cite precedents, and then to say that the United States, "not oblivious to great changes which have occurred in the conditions and means of naval warfare . . . might be ready to admit that the old form of 'close' blockade . . . is no longer practicable." But "the United States takes it for granted that the approach of Ameri-

can merchantmen to neutral ports . . . will not be interfered with" when not carrying contraband or goods for or from belligerent ports. It expected, also, that Britain "will be prepared to make full reparation for every . . . violation of neutral rights."

Following this statement, Mr. Bernstorff, the German Ambassador at Washington (in a memorandum dated April 4, 1915), declared his opinion that "the United States Government acquiesces in the violations of international law by Great Britain." He set forth the German view of American diplomacy in respect to the British Government.

Prior to the American protest of December 28, 1914, he stated, shipment of food supplies did not take place in a single case. Even after the protest he knew of only a single instance where an American ventured to make a shipment for legitimate sale to Germany [the *Wilhelmina* case]. Both ship and cargo were immediately seized under pretext of an order of the German Federal Council—which related exclusively to grain and flour, and not to other foodstuffs, besides making express exception with respect to imported foodstuffs and later guaranteeing exclusive consumption by the civilian population.

"The United States Government has not . . . after eight months . . . succeeded in protecting its lawful trade with Germany."

Mr. Bryan replied to the German Ambassador on April 21—that he was "at a loss how to interpret your Excellency's references," and that "the relations of two Governments with one another cannot wisely be made a subject of discussion with a third Government." He declared that the United States "has at no time and in no manner yielded any one of its rights."

Sinking of the "Lusitania"—American Demands and the German Pledge

Ninety-one belligerent and neutral ships were sunk by German submarines or mines during the three months that followed the "war-zone" decree; and the sinking of the British steamer *Falaba* and the American steamer *Gulflight* each caused the death of American citizens. The climax came, however, with the sinking of the *Lusitania* on May 7, 1915. The great British transatlantic liner was torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine, without warning, off the coast of Ireland. Eleven hundred and fifty persons were drowned, including more than

one hundred Americans. The vessel had sailed from New York on May 1, and carried—among other freight—several thousand cases of cartridges and shrapnel shells.

The United States despatched a note to Germany on May 13, 1915, declaring that it had observed this series of events "with growing concern, distress, and amazement." It was "loath to believe . . . that these acts, so absolutely contrary to the rules, the practises, and the spirit of modern warfare," could have the sanction of the German Government. The note asked for disavowal and reparation, and gave notice that the Government of the United States could not be expected "to omit any word or act" necessary to maintain the rights of its citizens.

The note further declared that "manifestly submarines cannot be used against merchantmen, as the last few weeks have shown, without an inevitable violation of many sacred principles of justice and humanity."

The German Government defended the sinking (in a note dated May 28, 1915), on the ground that the *Lusitania* had been constructed with funds of the British Government, as an auxiliary cruiser, and was included in the official naval list. It "undoubtedly had guns on board which were mounted under decks and masked," besides Canadian troops and cases of ammunition. The rapid sinking of the vessel "was primarily due to the explosion of the cargo of ammunition caused by the torpedo." Final statement of the German position was reserved until the American Government replied.

The American reply (made on June 9) assured the German Government that it had been "misinformed"—that the *Lusitania* was not armed for offensive action, was not serving as a transport, did not carry a prohibited cargo, and could not have sailed from an American port as a merchantman if she had been a naval vessel. The great steamer was primarily a conveyance for passengers who had no part in the war, was sunk without warning, and "men, women, and children were sent to their deaths in circumstances unparalleled in modern warfare." The note declared that the United States was "contending for nothing less high and sacred than the rights of humanity." The representations of its note of May 13 were therefore renewed. The note was signed by Robert Lansing, Acting Secretary of State—Mr. Bryan having resigned the day before.

Germany's second reply in the *Lusitania*

case, dated July 8, 1915, was chiefly an attempt to justify submarine warfare as a retaliatory measure. In the specific *Lusitania* case, if the submarine commander had given warning, "this would have meant the sure destruction of his own vessel." If the ship "had been spared, thousands of cases of ammunition would have been sent to Germany's enemies." Germany was "unable to admit that American citizens can protect an enemy ship through the mere fact of their presence on board." Accidents suffered by neutrals on enemy ships "cannot well be judged differently from accidents to which neutrals are at all times exposed at the seat of war on land when they betake themselves into dangerous localities in spite of previous warning." Germany offered to permit safe passage of American citizens in American vessels, or on neutral and even enemy steamers (up to four in number) under the American flag. Such vessels could not, however, carry contraband.

The United States—in a third *Lusitania* note, dated July 21, 1915—found this German reply "very unsatisfactory," because it failed to meet real differences. It was disappointed to find that Germany, because of certain practises of Great Britain, "regards itself as in large degree exempt from the obligation to observe" principles of neutral rights which it recognizes as valid.

This third American note differed from the first, in that it declared that events since the sinking of the *Lusitania* indicated that it was practicable to conduct submarine operations above criticism. The note concluded with the statement that repetition of acts in contravention of neutral rights, when they affect American citizens "must be regarded . . . as deliberately unfriendly."

Correspondence over the *Lusitania* was brought to an end by the emergence of a new case—that of the *Arabic*—which caused the German ambassador, on September 1, 1915, to inform the American Secretary of State that: "Liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without safety of the lives of non-combatants, provided that the liners do not try to escape or offer resistance."

The "Arabic" Case—Recurrence Declared Impossible

On August 19, 1915, the White Star liner *Arabic* was torpedoed and sunk without warning, south of the Irish coast. Twenty

passengers, including several Americans, were drowned. The vessel was bound from Liverpool to New York.

The German Government offered explanations on September 7—that when the *Arabic* approached it was pointing directly toward the submarine, and the commander was convinced that his ship was to be intentionally run down. Regret was expressed that American citizens had lost their lives. Later (October 5) the German Government disavowed the act of the submarine commander, and declared that “recurrence of incidents similar to the *Arabic* case is considered out of the question.”

The “Sussex” Case—Further Pledges by Germany

For more than six months after the *Arabic* case there was no important submarine incident that involved the pledge to America. On March 24, 1916, however, the Channel steamer *Sussex* (French) was torpedoed while crossing from Folkestone to Dieppe. Fifty of the passengers were killed.

The German Government’s explanation came on April 10. A vessel had been sunk on the day and in the place mentioned; but the submarine commander was convinced that it was a war vessel, and a sketch which he afterwards made was not identical with pictures of the *Sussex*. Therefore the German Government firmly believed that the *Sussex* struck a mine.

The United States replied to Germany on April 18, that “a careful, detailed, and scrupulously impartial investigation by naval and military officers of the United States has conclusively established the fact that the *Sussex* was torpedoed without warning.” The note reviewed the whole submarine controversy, and characterized the German methods as “wanton,” “without the slightest color of justification,” and “without limit of any kind.” Therefore, “in behalf of humanity and the rights of neutral nations,” the note declared that: “Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.”

Germany’s second *Sussex* note, dated May 4, 1916, “emphatically repudiated” the assertion of indiscriminate destruction. On the

contrary, far-reaching restraints had been imposed in consideration of the interests of neutrals. However, the German Government had “now decided to make a further concession.” It was “prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents.” Merchant vessels “shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives.” [The word “liners” had been used in the *Lusitania* pledge.]

Germany Suggests that England Be Made to Observe Rules Also

This German reply, of May 4, 1916, in the *Sussex* case, was chiefly devoted to a polite but severe arraignment of the American Government’s neutrality. Germany regretted that the sentiments of humanity extended to the victims of submarine warfare were not extended with the same warmth of feeling to the millions of women and children whom the British Government was seeking to starve. While demanding that Germany shall restrain the use of an effective weapon, and making compliance a condition for the maintenance of relations, the United States “confines itself to protests against the illegal methods adopted by Germany’s enemies.”

In view of the submarine concessions, however, Germany “does not doubt that the Government of the United States will now demand and insist that the British Government shall observe the rules of international law universally recognized before the war as they are laid down in the notes presented by the Government of the United States to the British Government on December 28, 1914, and November 5, 1915.”

The United States, on May 8, accepted the submarine concessions but gave notice that “respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas” could not “be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government.”

The Second Protest to Great Britain over Interference with Trade

Germany’s statement that the United States made demands upon her and protests to her enemies referred to the futile correspondence with Great Britain over restraints on neutral commerce. Mention has already been made of the first American protest (December 26, 1914) and to the British reply. Ten months later Mr. Lansing had

sent a second note to Great Britain, dated October 21, 1915. It constituted chiefly a legal and historical argument which, in the opinion of the American Government, showed conclusively that the methods employed to obtain evidence of enemy destination of cargoes bound for neutral ports are without justification; that the blockade "is ineffective [because not preventing traffic between German and Scandinavian ports], illegal, and indefensible"; that the judicial procedure offered as a means of reparation is defective; and that in many cases jurisdiction is asserted in violation of the law of nations. "The United States, therefore, cannot submit."

The British reply was not presented to the State Department until April 24, 1916—six months after the protest had been made. It suggested that the complaint of the United States was not so much that shipments had been intercepted which ought to have been permitted to pass, as that they had been stopped "by methods which had not been employed by belligerent nations in the past." The note sought to demonstrate that modern conditions required new methods, and that twenty months' experience had shown the utility of the changes. With regard to the Allies' inability to block imports into Germany from Sweden and Norway: The Baltic was compared with an inland sea, which—like a land frontier—need not be blockaded. As for inconvenience to neutrals: It is inevitable that the exercise of belligerent rights must inconvenience neutral trade.

Great Britain was of opinion that a solution would come through "mitigations" rather than through "abrupt changes either in the theory or application of a policy based upon admitted principles of international law carefully adjusted to the altered conditions of modern warfare."

With this reply from Great Britain, on April 24, 1916, the correspondence between the governments at Washington and London, over restraints on neutral trade, ceased.

Violation of Neutral Mails

Besides the controversy over restraints on commerce, the United States Government made emphatic protest to Great Britain regarding two other matters: interference with neutral mails, and the "blacklisting" of certain American business men and corporations.

The war had been going on for nearly a year and a half when the attention of the

State Department was drawn to a broadening of Britain's censorship. United States mails on Scandinavian ships were seized, removed, detained, read, and at times confiscated. Mr. Lansing made "vigorous protest" on January 4, 1916, declaring that the Department "can not admit the right of British authorities to seize neutral vessels plying directly between American and neutral European ports without touching at British ports, to bring them into port, and, while there, to remove or censor mails carried by them."

England and France made reply on April 3, admitting that under the Hague Convention of 1907 postal correspondence on the high seas is inviolable, but offering as justification these facts: that Germany had herself declared post parcels to be merchandise; that articles such as rubber and revolvers for Germany had been found in post parcels; that thirteen vessels sunk by German submarines in 1915 had carried mails; that German naval authorities had on three occasions seized mails, although afterwards declaring their intention to desist. The Allied Governments announced that they would "continue, for the present, to refrain on the high seas from seizing and confiscating such [genuine] correspondence."

This assurance was worthless, as Mr. Lansing pointed out in a note dated May 24, 1916, because:

The Allied Governments . . . compel neutral ships without just cause to enter their own ports, or they induce shipping lines through some form of duress to send their mail ships via British ports, or they detain all vessels merely calling at British ports, thus acquiring by force or unjustifiable means an illegal jurisdiction. Acting upon this enforced jurisdiction, the authorities remove all mails, genuine correspondence as well as post parcels, take them to London, where every piece, even though of neutral origin and destination, is opened and critically examined.

The United States, declared Mr. Lansing, "can no longer tolerate" such a "lawless practise of this character."

The Allied Governments' reply was received on October 12, 1916. It seized upon an admission by Mr. Lansing that stocks, bonds, checks, etc., might be regarded as merchandise and subject to the exercise of belligerent rights; and it declared that inspection of mails, which implies the opening of covers, could not be carried out on board without great confusion and delay. "That is the reason why the Allies had mail bags landed and sent to centers . . . for prompt and regular handling."

Should Merchant Vessels Arm?

A phase of the submarine controversy which itself assumed serious proportions had to do with the arming of merchant ships. One of the German reasons for sinking without warning was that British vessels frequently fired on submarines when summoned to stop; and no secret had been made of rewards offered in England, and claimed, for the destruction of submarines. Even before the *Lusitania* was sunk, the British admiralty examined the hull of a steamer and confirmed the crew's claim that a submarine had been rammed and sunk.

In the first month of the present conflict, Ambassador Spring-Rice assured the United States that armed British merchantmen "will never fire unless first fired upon, and . . . will never under any circumstances attack any vessel." It had long been a universally recognized, though obsolete, principle of international law that a merchant vessel might arm solely for defense—might carry a few guns of small caliber—and not acquire the character of a ship of war. In the circumstances created by this war, Germany from the beginning challenged the British purpose in arming merchantmen. Mr. Lansing himself (on January 18, 1916) informed the Entente Governments that such armament "can be explained only on the ground of a purpose to render merchantmen superior in force to submarines and to prevent warning and visit and search by them." He declared that the United States Government was "impressed with the reasonableness of the argument that a merchant vessel carrying armament . . . should be held to be an auxiliary cruiser," and that his Government was "seriously considering instructing its officers accordingly."

Mr. Lansing proposed that guns be discarded, while submarines, on their part, should not attack without warning and should not destroy without removing crew and passengers to a place of safety.

Great Britain replied, on March 23, that Germany's "lack of good faith" justified doubt as to the possibility of putting Mr. Lansing's suggestions into practise. The note recited some of Germany's submarine offenses, and declared that Britain could not accept a non-guaranteed German promise.

On February 10, 1916, Germany and Austria-Hungary announced that after February 29 armed merchantmen would be treated as belligerent vessels. The declara-

tion was accompanied by a list of nineteen cases in which enemy merchant ships had fired on submarines. It was also accompanied by a photographic reproduction of confidential instructions of the British Admiralty, found on a captured vessel. One of these stated that "the ship pursued should open fire in self-defense, notwithstanding the submarines may not have committed a definite hostile act, such as firing a gun or torpedo."

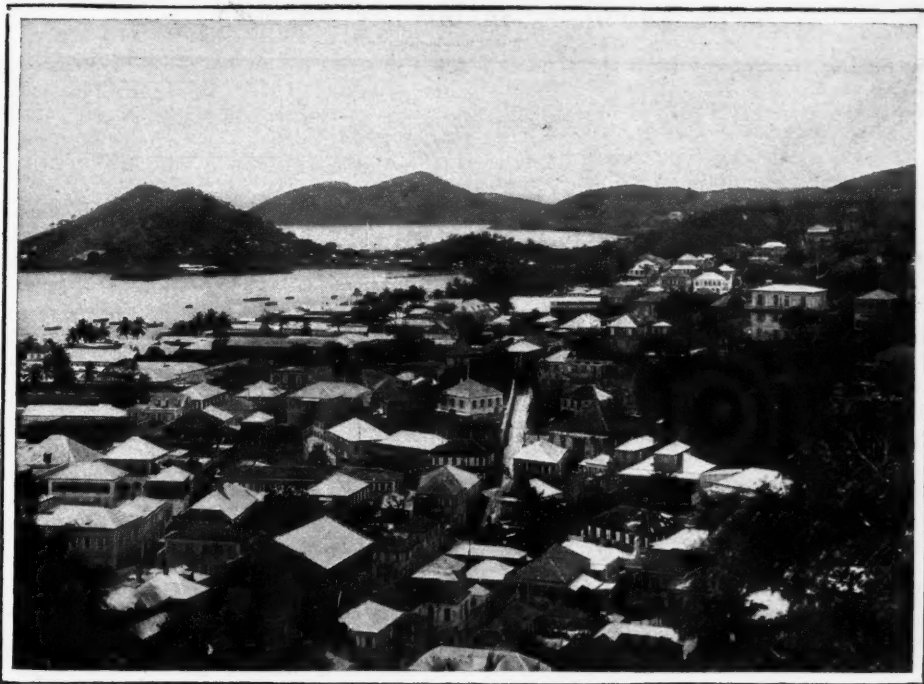
Germany Renews Its Submarine War— The United States Severs Relations

On January 31, 1917, the German Ambassador transmitted to the United States Government three memoranda, declaring that England and her allies not only insist upon continuing their "war of starvation" but have disclosed their aim "to dismember and dishonor Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria." Even after peace has been restored, they intend "to continue their hostile attitude and especially to wage a systematic economic war." Therefore Germany "is now compelled to continue the fight for existence . . . with the full employment of all the weapons which are at its disposal." A zone was designated around Great Britain and France, and in the Mediterranean—in which "all navigation, that of neutrals included," will be prevented, and "all ships met . . . will be sunk." Provision was made for the safe journey of one American vessel to and from England each week.

Four days earlier (on January 27), the British had proclaimed a new "dangerous zone" in the North Sea, extending across the whole of the German coast and part of Denmark and Holland. This was interpreted as meaning that the area had been mined by the British.

The Berlin government was certain that the United States would "understand the situation thus forced upon Germany" and would realize that it gave back to Germany "the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916."

President Wilson, however, saw the situation in a different light. He informed the German Ambassador on February 3 that the new submarine proposal withdrew the "solemn assurance" given in the note referred to, and that he had therefore directed that diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany be severed.



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CHARLOTTE AMALIE, THE PRINCIPAL TOWN OF THE ISLAND OF ST. THOMAS, AND THE SPLENDID LAND-LOCKED HARBOR, ONE OF THE FINEST IN THIS REGION

OUR NEW CARIBBEAN ISLANDS

BY ELDRED E. JACOBSEN

FIFTEEN hundred miles south from New York, in the tropics, where nature ever smiling invites you to a lazy enjoyment of life, and within sight of the hills of Porto Rico, lie the islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John with their surrounding rocky islets, the latest addition to the territory of the United States. With the payment to Denmark of twenty-five million dollars by us, these little-known but important Caribbean Islands will pass under a government to which they belong geographically, and will become political dependencies of a country with which they have long been closely connected both commercially and sentimentally.

The islands were discovered by Columbus on his second voyage in 1493, being then inhabited by the "Caribs," of whose existence relics and stone inscriptions on the islands bear evidence. St. Thomas was colonized by the Danes in 1666, but they were displaced by the Dutch, who remained in control until 1672 when the Danes again

took over the island as a trading station through the Danish West India and Guinea Company. In 1756 the rights of this company were purchased by Denmark and the island became a Crown Colony. St. John was purchased in 1684 and St. Croix—also known by the Spanish name "Santa Cruz"—the most fertile of the islands, after being occupied in turn by the Dutch in 1625 and the English in 1649, was conquered by the Spaniards from Porto Rico in 1650, they in turn being driven out by the French in 1651; and was finally bought by Denmark in 1733. Denmark has owned the group ever since, except during 1801 and again from 1807 to 1815, when by reason of war with England and Danish sympathy with the cause of Napoleon, the British took possession of the islands, afterwards returning them to Denmark.

For over fifty years we have tried to acquire these islands. Twice before have we treated with Denmark for their purchase.



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THE MAIN STREET OF CHARLOTTE AMALIE

Doubtless our need of the islands is much greater since the completion of the Panama Canal—the canal could be assailed from nowhere so disastrously as from these islands—and the answer to any argument as to price is that “We did not get them for five million dollars and we need them now.” We need more coaling stations. Culebra is not enough. Porto Rico needs defense, and the gateway to the Panama Canal cannot longer be left as a possible source of complications with other nations. Our purchase of the islands also makes possible our own commercial expansion at a time when we are making every effort in that direction. The full development of St. Thomas as a coaling station and half-way port of call for traffic on the way to the Canal and South America will become necessary as our trade expands, and the island which was once the “Emporium of the Antilles” is bound to be of commercial value to us aside from any question as to its strategic importance.

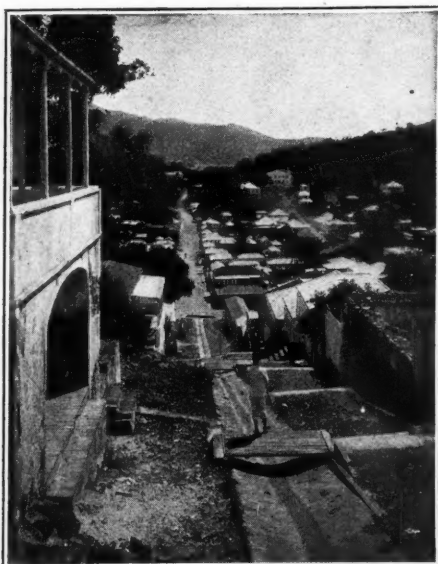
Nor is our acquisition of these islands devoid of sentiment to students of American history. It was from St. Croix that Alex-

ander Hamilton came to America, and now, we pay sentimental tribute to one of our revolutionary heroes by acquiring the land of his former home, and in the price we pay also make a somewhat belated reward to the descendants of those sturdy Norsemen who first landed on this continent, and whose seamanship and desire for exploration made the new world possible.

RELATION OF THE ISLANDS TO OUR OTHER CARIBBEAN HOLDINGS

It is a remarkable fact that each extension in our territory has marked an epoch in our history as a nation. The purchase of Alaska was laughed at, the acquisition of California and the Louisiana Purchase were decried, and now our naval strategists claim that in Culebra we have all that is necessary for us as a naval base, and that the necessity for acquiring these islands ceased after our war with Spain, when we came into possession of Porto Rico and the adjacent islands. But the value of these islands will become more evident as time goes on.

Admiral Porter called St. Thomas “the



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A TYPICAL STREET IN CHARLOTTE AMALIE VIEWED FROM AN ADJACENT HILL

keystone to the arch of the West Indies," and so it is from its geographical position, as a glance at the map will show, while ample proof exists that small islands are best suited for fortifications and can be made impregnable against naval attack. St. Thomas and St. John face the ocean directly, nature has been generous to them in the way of natural defenses, and their hills dominate the ocean for miles around.

But forty miles from Porto Rico, these islands can be made as important to us from a naval standpoint as is Heligoland to Germany in the present war, and similar strategically to Malta, which may be considered the British advance post covering the Suez Canal, while in the hands of a rival naval power our occupation of Porto Rico would be for naught, and the value of Culebra destroyed. Supplementing Guantanamo in Cuba, which is 800 miles from Colon and too far to the West, these islands are pivotal in the event of any approach to the Canal from the Atlantic side and through the numerous islands between the small islands to the east.

Guantanamo, Colon, and St. Thomas furnish points of a triangle giving adequate protection to the Canal and insure the value of Culebra and Porto Rico; while the land-locked harbors at St. Thomas and Coral Bay on St. John, famous since the days of the old buccaneers, can be developed into magnificent

docking and coaling stations. At present these facilities are sadly lacking in Caribbean waters.

THE ISLANDS AS THEY ARE TO-DAY

The islands have a combined area of 133 square miles, with a population of about thirty thousand. Like all of the other West Indian islands, they are nothing if not picturesque. St. Croix, the largest, contains eighty-four square miles, with a population of 18,000; it is about twenty-five miles long and from four to five miles wide. A ridge of mountains runs parallel with the coast along the western end of the island, Mt. Eagle, the highest point, being 1164 feet above sea level, even in such a limited tropical area, a diversity of climate and plant life exists as caused the island to be known years ago as the "Garden of the West Indies." The atmosphere of the island is rather more American than any part of the West Indies, including Porto Rico after years of American possession, for not only has the principal communication been with the United States, but in years gone by the island was a Mecca for American tourists. To-day 90 per cent of the exports and imports are with this country, and the number of natives who have emigrated to the "Land of Hope," as they term the United States, has created a feeling of affection for this country. The resolution adopted by the Colonial Council of the island and transmitted to Denmark during the pendency of the present negotiations is an index of this feeling. It reads:

"The Colonial Council unanimously requests the Ministry to hasten the negotiations toward ratification of the treaty with the United States which is the only means of relieving the intolerable and ruinous state of affairs in this island. There is no hope otherwise of rectifying our condition in the future."

This "intolerable and ruinous state of affairs in the island" has been of gradual and certain progress. The principal and almost exclusive industry of the island has been the production of sugar. When the West Indian Islands had the monopoly of the sugar market, it was prosperous and of great value to Denmark. Life on the island was comfortable, elegant and aristocratic, for the planters were wealthy, they spent money lavishly and enjoyed the best that the world afforded. But to-day this former prosperity is but a memory, and the competition of beet-sugar has practically driven cane-sugar from the market, save at prices ruinous to the

planters, and the island has no longer attracted capital or the immigration of planters from Ireland, Scotland, and Denmark, as it formerly did, while the best of the native sons have emigrated and sought their fortunes elsewhere. After the failure of the negotiations in 1902, Denmark sought to stimulate the industries of the island by furnishing capital and a market for its products, but the venture was not a success, for the natural market of the island is the United States, though by reason of our tariff it has not enjoyed the benefit of its geographical position and pays to this government a total of over half a million dollars in sugar duties each year, and the industry has been further taxed by an export duty of 5 per cent.

Since the outbreak of the European war the price of sugar has advanced, and this, coupled with a remarkably good crop on the island during 1916, has made conditions somewhat better; but this condition will not last, whereas if the islands become dependencies or territories of the United States, the sugar industry will be re-established on a permanent basis of prosperity far beyond anything in the past experience of the island. The land at present under cultivation for sugar cane is but 16,000 acres out of a total acreage of 50,000. It has been worked for two hundred years without irrigation or fertilization and dependent only upon rainfall, yet it is capable of producing from eight to ten tons of sugar per acre, an amount equal to the per acre production in Hawaii, where millions have been spent for irrigation. With proper growing methods, fertilization, and irrigation it can be made to rival Porto Rico, where the production is from twenty-five to thirty tons per acre.

But sugar is not the only agricultural possibility of the island. It can be made far

more profitable industrially than it has ever been, and Baron Eggers, author of a work on the flora of the islands (Smithsonian Inst., 1883) mentions many valuable products and fiber-producing plants which can be cultivated and which bring handsome returns.

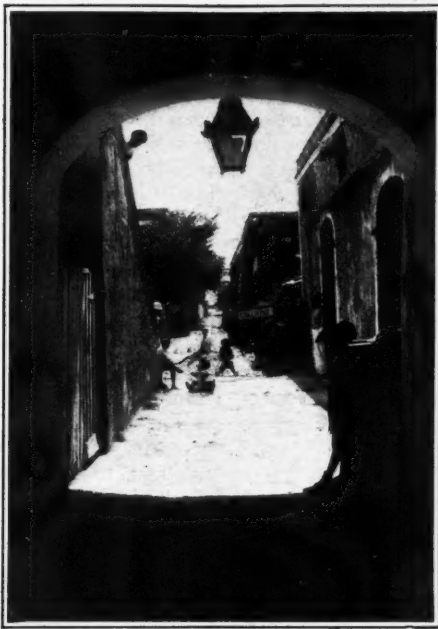
Cotton, of the long staple variety known as "Sea-island," is grown with great success. Some of the finest which ever reached the Liverpool market in late years came from St. Croix and brought prices ranging from

forty to fifty cents per pound. It is true that this industry has not been developed to any great extent, but the possibilities of cultivation are great, and with the establishment of a station of the Agricultural Department in the island, and the cultivation of the now unused and ocean-swept hills, it can be greatly stimulated and furnish a substantial increase to the limited amount of this grade of cotton now grown on our own islands off the Carolina coast, for which there is increasing demand.

With the coming of American occupation will come increased incentive to the island, and with

a freer market and transportation facilities the island will once more resume its old place; while the winter-resort possibilities of an island with sandy beaches encircled by coral reefs, and with snow-white sand bottoms and water that is always at a temperature of 80 degrees, can be developed so as to share patronage with our own Florida resorts.

St. Thomas and St. John are much smaller and of no importance agriculturally, being very hilly, although hemp, jute, and fiber-producing plants can be cultivated on a profitable basis, while tropical fruits can also be grown. It is as a commercial center that St. Thomas has been known and as a maritime base that it has always held prominence. It



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THE CABLE OFFICE AT CHARLOTTE AMALIE

is thirteen miles long, about three miles wide, and its harbor is one of the finest in the West Indies.

An idea of its commercial importance can be gained from the fact that from 1820 to 1850 the average annual arrivals were 2500 ships, and the imports half a century ago were \$5,000,000 annually. It was made a free port by the Danes in 1764, and as an international shipping center the island was not only busy and prosperous, but very gay, and life was most enjoyable. It presents a most picturesque appearance when viewed from the harbor, the town being built upon three hills, and it was a clean and busy place even in late years, when most of its shipping had disappeared, for it was the principal port of call of the Hamburg-American Line in the West Indies and a point of trans-shipment of goods for other ports in the West Indies and South America. Since the outbreak of the European war this industry has died out, and this has been a sad blow to the island, which is now deprived of its only source of revenue.

St. John has been practically abandoned of late years, having a population of only 1000, and is seldom visited. Its prospects depend entirely upon development by American capital.

THE PEOPLE

The people are intelligent, agreeable, and well-informed, and many of them are educated and refined, though to a great extent deprived of broadening influences through their isolation. They are peaceful and industrious, and crimes of violence are unknown, but they have needed capital for the development of their resources and incentive. From the standpoint of one who has lived in the islands, I am frank to state that the "negro problem" here will hardly be the

problem—difficult of solution—which at first glance it seems to be; for while most of the leading merchants, tradesmen, and minor officials are men in whose veins runs colored blood, they are more courteous and considerate than those of white skin occupying similar position in America.

Hospitality and good cheer abound everywhere, for somehow poverty under a mid-summer sky does not seem so appalling as in a northern blizzard, and the prevailing atmosphere is one of cheerfulness, now further stimulated by reason of the transfer to the United States. Class distinction rather than color distinction exists.

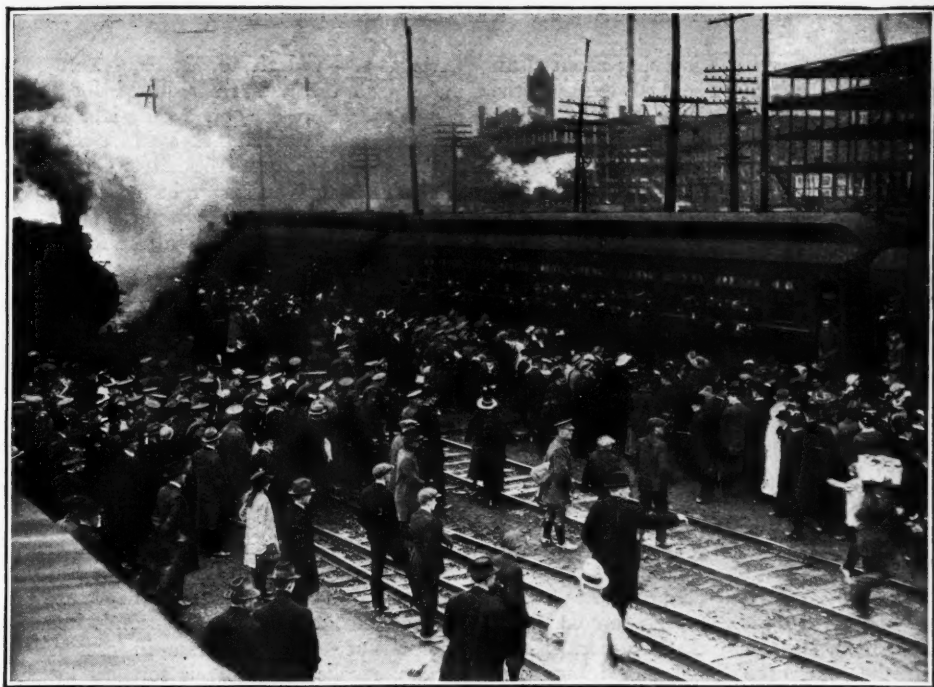
The laboring classes are generally courteous and respectful, and with the minimum of creature comforts enjoy life as keenly as do those in the upper and middle classes. We will not have the problem of converting a hostile people to our ideas of life and government, as was the case in Porto Rico, where customs, language, and sentiment were adverse to us, because not only is English the universal language and the associations American, but the people have ardently wanted American rule, as was evidenced by the popular vote in all the islands in favor of the transfer.

The great problem will be to introduce necessary changes gradually, from the paternal and tolerant attitude of Denmark to the businesslike, efficient, and self-sustaining government necessary under our political ideas; and to furnish the laboring classes—under prevailing wage conditions, forty to fifty cents a day—with a livelihood and a chance to develop in accordance with modern ideas of labor.

A cheerful and hopeful people come under our government, and a tolerant attitude on our part will do much to cement a bond of friendship and materialize a hope of years.



HARVESTING A CROP OF SUGAR-CANE IN ST. CROIX



A FREQUENT SCENE IN CANADA—SAYING GOODBYE TO THE SOLDIERS STARTING FOR THE FRONT

CANADA FACES NEW PROBLEMS

BY HON. P. T. McGRATH

(President Legislative Council of Newfoundland)

[The two following articles were prepared by Canadian contributors to this REVIEW, whose former articles will be recalled by our regular readers. Mr. McGrath, who has an important official post in Newfoundland, is in constant touch with affairs at Ottawa. Mr. Gerrie is in active Y. M. C. A. work with the Canadian forces at Edmonton, in the Canadian Northwest, while two of his sons are in France.—THE EDITOR.]

CANADA opens 1917 under conditions unique in her history. A new Governor-General, the Duke of Devonshire, will initiate what may be termed a new lease of life for her Parliament, inasmuch as its existence was extended beyond the normal period (October, 1916) by special legislation. Enactments new in principle and of far-reaching contingencies are foreshadowed; and new aspects of life are being imparted to a young and progressive nation by the demands of a war waged in lands 3000 miles from her seaboard, and in which she became a participant without pact or compulsion, but merely in response to the ties of kinship and the realization of the fact that the future of

Anglo-Saxon civilization turned on the outcome.

Canada is a country more populous than Belgium, Rumania, or Turkey in Europe, and twice as populous as Bulgaria, Serbia, or Montenegro. But because her people are spread over an expanse equaling the American Republic, the organizing of them for war purposes has not been easy, while the fact that prior to the outbreak of hostilities she had scarcely any trained men increased her handicap. But she settled down to the task promptly and doggedly, and has writ her name on history's pages by the deeds of her men on the firing line.

But now it is seen that she has still larger

tasks to essay, and she is going about them in the same spirit. The first week of the New Year was "National Service" week throughout Canada, and it saw the country given over to the operations of this movement, as the first step towards the mobilizing of the human resources of the country to further her efforts in the great conflict. National service cards had been circulated, to be filled in by everybody, the information to be then tabulated and employed to utilize the various classes of the population the way best calculated to win the war.

THE STERN RESOLVE TO WIN THE WAR

Winning the war overshadows everything else in the Dominion to-day, and the best opinion in Canada now recognizes that half measures will not accomplish this. On New Year's Day, 1916, Premier Borden pledged the faith of his country to the raising of a force of 500,000 for foreign service. The opening of the present year saw her still 120,000 men short of that number, though half the total of 380,000 now in uniform were raised during the past twelve months, a number exceeding that which the United States, with twelve times the population, was able to assemble for duty on the Mexican border when the need arose last year. Still, Canada is not satisfied. Her faith is pledged for half a million, and they must be raised—both to make good her word and because they will be needed—if the war goes on; and nothing seems more certain now. Consequently, more drastic measures require to be taken; this accounts for the National Service movement.

Labor organizations and pacifist societies regarding this as a first step towards conscription, much criticism followed, so the principals in the movement warned the country that this was the last appeal that would be made to the slackers, and that if it proved futile still other measures would have to be employed. It was to be the last chance for Canadian democracy to rise to its responsibilities to the nation and to civilization. Labor took alarm and called for assurances from Premier Borden that no onslaught against voluntarism was intended. His reply was the statesmanlike one, that conscription was not intended at present, but he declined to promise that, if the condition of the state should require it, conscription would not be employed subsequently.

The New Year thus sees Canada facing what America faced midway through the

Civil War—a draft, or its equivalent, to make good the numbers required for military service. For the outstanding fact is that whether the National Service movement is a success or a failure, the half-million men whom Canada is in honor bound to supply must be forthcoming during the present year. It is to be hoped that they will be forthcoming without the adoption of compulsory service. Whether they will or not depends now finally and absolutely on the character of the response to the appeal for voluntary national service.

POLITICAL ISSUES.

Scarcely less serious is the problem of an election. The Conservative government of Sir Robert Borden is claimed by its opponents to have been sailing in stormy water for some time, and naturally, as politicians, they desire an appeal to the country. On the other hand, far-seeing citizens deprecate an election during the war. Lincoln's homely advice, not to swap horses in crossing a stream, recalls itself. It is fortified by the example set in England of a coalition government, reconstructed more than once, and, more recently, a new Premier and a radical change in the cabinet structure, to avoid an appeal to the electorate during the war. Many argue, why not a coalition in Canada? But political ideals are not as high in the Colonies as in the mother country, and the men to be displaced from their enjoyment of the loaves and fishes of office do not as readily relinquish their places at the table as do officials in the British Isles. Coalition, therefore, is unlikely, while an election is almost equally unthinkable. This issue was to have been raised in the first days of the session which opened at Ottawa on January 18, but was set back until the spring by the arrangement reached between Messrs. Borden and Laurier, whereby Parliament adjourned again on February 9 for two months, to allow Premier Borden to attend the Imperial War Conference at London; all contentious legislation at Ottawa to be postponed until after his return.

CRITICISMS OF THE GOVERNMENT

The most important of these contentious questions are as follows: Charges of "graft" in the manufacture of munitions and purchase of other war supplies in Canada, evidences of which were afforded through an inquiry by a judicial commission last summer; allegations that the Canadians on the



THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, NEW GOVERNOR GENERAL OF CANADA, AND HIS FAMILY

fighting line were armed with an inefficient rifle, whereby thousands of needless casualties were caused, and as to which it may be said that while this rifle still has its champions, it has been withdrawn and the British military arm substituted; similar charges that nickel mined in Canada but refined in the United States was allowed in the latter country to get into German hands and be used in making German munitions for the shooting down of Canadian soldiers, an indictment productive of intensely bitter discussion in the Canadian press, platform, and Parliament; long continued criticism of the administration of Canada's military affairs, culminating in the resignation last autumn of Sir Sam Hughes, the Canadian Minister of Militia, and the making of some serious accusations by him against his former colleagues; similar dissatisfaction anent Canada's military affairs in Britain; compelling the withdrawal from France of General Turner, V. C., one of the ablest Canadian military officers on active service, to reorganize Canadian military activities in the British Isles; discontent because of two distinct medical commissions to investigate the Canadian Army Medical Service overseas, which com-

missions have made diametrically opposite reports, thereby increasing popular concern and necessarily damaging confidence in this organization; and finally, criticism by the opposition party in the Ottawa Parliament of the alleged "slackness" and indecision of the Borden Ministry in putting its measures into effect or in allowing political consideration to override national interests, an outstanding instance of this being claimed by critics to be the withdrawal of Sir Thomas Tait, a distinguished railway man, without any decided political affiliations, from the directorship of the National Service movement, almost immediately after he accepted it, because of alleged government interference with him in choosing a secretary to assist him in the undertaking.

All of these matters are certain to be reviewed when the session resumes and to be utilized as the groundwork for vigorous and sustained criticism of the government, with one eye, of course, to the remedying of the grievances said to exist and another eye to the possibilities of party advantages derivable from such indictments as may be launched by the opposition from time to time on the floors of Parliament.

ENORMOUS FINANCIAL DEMANDS

Concurrently with the National Service campaign, a national thrift campaign is also being designed, for in whatever else any Canadian man or woman may not be able to serve, he or she can assuredly serve by saving and investing the money in war securities. The war is admittedly a vast duel between the resources, human and material, of the belligerents. Their mental, moral, and physical resources have been mobilized, and in all of these respects the Allies have the advantage, if they have the determination to utilize the resources in the most effective manner possible.

For Canada to maintain her army in the field, and to assist the Allied nations with munitions, calls for the employment of her utmost financial strength. In other words, what Britain is doing her oversea dominions must also try to do in the most effective way. During this year Canada will have to raise at least \$250,000,000 for her own war expenditures, and fully as much more to finance British war purchases in the Dominion. This will call for extraordinary efforts, the discarding of all luxuries, and the concentrating of all Canadian resources upon a single purpose—the gaining of a complete victory in the shortest possible time.

What Canada has already accomplished in this regard is but little realized: Successful loans were floated in New York, combinations with the Bank of England and the British Treasury enabled huge war purchases to be financed in Canada, and vast credits established in the Dominion. Canadian banks were induced to supplement Treasury loans for purposes of British credit with large commitments on their own account, and by these means contracts for \$600,000,000 worth of munitions were obtained for Canada, with probably another \$400,000,000 worth of other war supplies. And that Canada is capable of still more extraordinary efforts few will gainsay. Last year she absorbed most readily two domestic loans. The first was for \$50,000,000, and the subscriptions enabled twice that sum to be obtained. The second was for \$100,000,000, and subscriptions totaling \$180,000,000 were received. Here were \$280,000,000 offered in a single year and without depleting the deposits in savings banks for more than a month or two. As the days go by, and she gets greater benefit from the steadily growing volume of war trade within her boundaries, her people should easily be able to sub-

scribe another \$300,000,000 this year without special effort, and by a thrift campaign be in a position to provide still another \$200,000,000.

THE NEED OF BIGGER CROPS

The natural complement of service and thrift is production. So at the same time goes forth a call for a much larger output of foodstuffs and all other necessities for military and civil life, both by a greater agricultural effort and by increased efficiency from all those engaged in that and kindred industries. With the admittedly serious shortage in the world's supplies of foodstuffs now steadily becoming more acute, and the difficulties in the way of transporting such across the Atlantic, there is a special need for Canada to play a larger part in the raising of great quantities of foodstuffs in a country of such dimensions as hers, and with such a variety of resources.

Last year Canadian crops were short, the western grain production being only 500,000,000 bushels, against 750,000,000 in 1913 and 320,000,000 in 1914. The wheat crop itself was but 157,000,000, against 376,000,000 the previous year, and 141,000,000 in 1914. But it is now considered imperative to enforce an active and energetic movement for the maximum production, not alone of field crops, but of food animals, that thereby the future of the country may be conserved.

POST-BELLUM PROBLEMS

The war is now costing Canada a million dollars a day, and will continue to impose that burden upon her until peace is proclaimed, and even then the problems, first of returning a quarter-million men to Canada, which will require at least twelve months with the steamers available for the purpose, and, second, the re-absorption of these multitudes into the industries of the country, are such as to tax the statesmanship of a young nation like Canada to the utmost. At the same time that these armed forces will be returning and the work of disbanding them will be in progress, the transformation of Canada from a manufacturing country, on the scale that it has been made the past two years by reason of the making of munitions, back to one producing again primarily the requirements of civil life, will have to be effected, and this will bring its own series of difficulties in its wake.

Just how Canada's industrial fabric is to be reshaped along the lines of the new re-



THE CANADIAN WOMEN'S VOLUNTEER CORPS ON PARADE

quirements, it is as yet too early to attempt to forecast. The war may end speedily, or it may continue for months, if not years; and a country of seven and a half million people, increasing its public debt as Canada is doing from month to month, and faced with the certainty that industries which represent the largest aggregate capital and operatives in the country to-day will have to be shut down or transformed into other forms of occupation, is by no means an inviting proposition for those who have to take it into account.

CANADA'S ECONOMIC PROGRAM

The Canadian Finance Minister, Sir Thomas White, has summarized the new economic policy of the Dominion as follows:

(1) National organization which will provide the maximum of man power for the military forces and requisite labor for the vital industries engaged in the production of munitions, supplies, shipping, food, and other necessities of military and civil life.

(2) Increase in such production by greater effort and increased efficiency on the part of all engaged in these industries.

(3) National economy in food, dress, and personal expenditures generally. Imports other than necessities of life or required for war purposes should be discouraged in order that the exchanges may be maintained and the national wealth conserved for the state.

(4) Increased national saving which will provide funds to take up government securities issued from time to time to meet war expenditure.

(5) Organization of the special technical,

financial, and business ability of the Empire to assist the several governments in the great administrative departments principally concerned with the conduct of the war.

IMMIGRATION AND RETURNING SOLDIERS

In addition to these matters, there is the question of immigration to follow the war. The home-coming soldiers will present, by their large numbers, virtually a new immigration problem for the country, because it is hopeless to expect that all of them can be provided with employments similar to those in which they were engaged before they enlisted, and already the federal and provisional governments are working on plans to put thousands of ex-soldiers into farming pursuits. But probably greater numbers will have neither inclination nor aptitude for this work, and will seek occupation otherwise. The project of a national highway from Halifax to Vancouver has been already advocated, following England's example in setting great armies to build roads through that country after the Napoleonic wars; and doubtless other means of partly overcoming this problem will be devised meanwhile.

It is expected, moreover, that after peace ensues there will be a big influx of settlers from devastated Europe, driven therefrom by the horrors of war and the crushing burden of taxation that will follow it. It has been made clear by the railway companies that their steamer lines will be unable to bring any immigrants until all the soldiers are returned; but after that it is likely that the prairie country will attract vast numbers, and

this will call for some new methods of settlement and employment; not to speak of more rigid control over the class of immigrants to be admitted, and the need for altered naturalization laws owing to the revelation which the war has furnished of the fact that Germans in foreign countries are permitted to become naturalized subjects of other states without losing their own citizenship. It is recognized that Canada will need population to carry the burden of the war and to provide adequate support for the machinery of industry and transportation which she has created; but on the other hand it is contended that, having bought freedom at a great price, she should set value upon free British citizenship and require allegiance to Canada and the Empire, not tolerating a covert political obligation to any other country and guarding her franchise against elements which cannot be expected to sympathize with her ideals or institutions.

TARIFFS AND TRANSPORTATION

Problems scarcely less momentous are embodied in the matter of further tariff changes to enable the Canadian people better to carry the financial burden which the war is imposing upon them; the utilization of the Hudson Bay Railway, the completion of which is expected before the end of this year; the nationalization of the existing railways of Canada, on which subject a commission consisting of a British, a Canadian, and an American expert is now working; the improvement of the canal system, so as to facilitate the speedier and cheaper conveyance of grain to the seaboard; the enlarging of the shipping fleets plying with Canada over the

Atlantic route; the ensuring of cheaper rates of sea-borne freight than those now ruling and alleged by some critics to be due to a "combine"; and the further improving of the St. Lawrence route, which made a record in 1916 in not having an accident.

THE FRENCH-CANADIANS

Finally, there is the problem of Quebec—a province with more than two million of French extraction (including those steadily overflowing into Eastern Ontario), the whole forming an element of almost a third of the entire population of the country, which has contributed but a small quota for the firing-line, while the attitude of several leading spokesmen of the French-Canadian people in the struggle, to the ordinary onlooker, at any rate, is an incomprehensible one, and one not creditable to the patriotism of the people, or their love for the land of their forefathers. But, of course, various causes have combined to create the conditions which prevail in this province, and the issue involved is not one to be fought with harsh words or harsh measures. When it is remembered, moreover, that there are in Canada some 600,000 people of "enemy alien" nationalities (Germans, Austrians, etc.), the splendid response to the call of king and country which the English-speaking element has made becomes all the more splendid, but the difficulties in the way of carrying on the war are seen to be correspondingly accentuated, and the need for the Canadian authorities carefully to consider every move before it is made is realized to be imperative, lest, as one Canadian statesman recently opined, "civil war be brought home to us."

THE DOMINION IN WAR TIME

BY J. P. GERRIE

IN many ways Canada is a changed land since the war began. Nor has the change been sudden and abrupt, but gradual and continuous. To a casual observer things might seem as they were, but in a great world crisis, where a land works so vital a part, this could never be. There is to-day military thought and action absolutely at variance with all that has previously contributed to make up Canadian life and character. Teaching, training, and pursuits of life have

been directed toward very opposite aims and ideals. And now with recruiting in every quarter, the enlisting of 400,000 men, drilling from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the despatching of 150,000 troops to the fighting line, and the consequent anxiety, sorrow and suffering, the Dominion could not continue as it was. The change is general and radical, and can be clearly seen in various phases of individual and national acts and conclusions.

Temperance and sobriety is one of the first great outstanding changes. In saying this it is not admitted that Canada was a "booze"-ridden land. For a half-century or more there has been a wonderful advance in temperance sentiment and prohibitory legislation. Recent examples of this can be cited in Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia, save the city of Halifax, wholly under prohibition, and in New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario each more than one-half so through local option and other agencies.

The remaining provinces were also heading toward a like goal, but it is within the past eighteen months that record strides have been made, and now Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Alberta, and Ontario have all become "dry," and in the order named. British Columbia has just voted for like legislation, and Quebec, through the legislature, announces a war prohibition measure. And now comes very strong agitation for federal legislation, that the axe may strike at the root of the matter in manufacture and importation. Returns up and down the land indicate a great decrease of drunkenness, and give an assurance that the people will never go back to license conditions as before the war.

The conservation of men and means is a matter new to the people of the Dominion. With so many withdrawn from the regular vocations a great adjustment has become necessary. The going of brothers and fathers has brought to younger lads a new responsibility in the home, on the farm, and in business. Young women are invading banks and financial concerns and assuming duties hitherto entirely discharged by men. The federal government is also taking a hand in a program for national service. Cards have just been distributed to all males between the ages of eighteen and sixty-five to gather information looking to a distribution of labor along lines essential to the greatest good.

Thrift is likewise nationally enjoined, although through the claims of the Patriotic, Red Cross, and other funds, reduced incomes and increased cost in living, thought had already been directed along lines of saving and economy. Now there is given to all classes an opportunity to contribute to the government's loans. The outcome of all this is a widespread desire to respond with service and means which will tell for most in a time of stress and strain.

The welding of nationalities can now be viewed in a new light. It is true that a cleavage has grown in relation to German

and Austrian nationalities, but this was foreign to the Canadian spirit in the early days of the war, and would not yet appear but for disloyalty to the country which had been chosen as an adopted home. The Bulgarians of Canada did not want their native land arrayed against England, and when the war is over will probably atone as far as they can with ultra loyalty. With the Central Powers, too, thoroughly defeated this will be doubtless true of many Germans and Austrians, and the relatively small number of Turks in the Dominion.

Recent days have been an anxious time for the Greeks, who have shown themselves most sympathetic with things Canadian and British. Like themselves, they desire their native land to be heart and soul with the Allies. And then, as to the Allies themselves, there is now common ground in interest, sympathy and suffering. Practically every one of these countries is represented in the Canadian army.

This, too, may be said of neutral lands. While respecting the neutrality of the lands from which they came, these representatives feel that in Canada, their adopted home, there can be no neutral course either in act or thought. Some have gone so far as to gather together and recruit under names distinctive of their own nationalities. This must not be interpreted in the light of any divergence, but rather the very opposite in indicating that as representatives of other lands they are most thoroughly Canadian in this struggle. Thus it is that in a great common cause, including so many lands directly and indirectly, there will come a welding of nationalities the like of which the world has never seen.

The sinking of political differences is another outcome of the war. It is true that no coalition government has been formed in Canada, as in England, but this might as well be the case as far as the attitude of the opposition in Parliament is concerned. Never is an attempt made to embarrass the government. The usual time for a federal election has long since gone by, but there is no disposition to accentuate political differences, nor to precipitate a contest. The Liberal leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, has been as true to the Premier, Sir Robert Borden, as his own most ardent party supporter could well be. This is likewise true of the rank and file of both parties, while in the political press of the country rabid partisanship is very largely a thing of the past. Inasmuch as Parliament

has more than run its term, it may yet be that a coalition government will be formed whose politics in the meantime will be Canada's part in the successful prosecution of the war. There seems little doubt that this would be the mandate of the people if a vote were taken.

A mingling of creeds and a broader, more practical brotherhood mark the religion of to-day. Men of all creeds—Protestant and Catholic and other faiths—are together in the army. The illusion of separating the secular and sacred no longer generally prevails. In the true life all things are sacred. So it is of duty in this great struggle. Hence it is that church auditoriums are thrown open for recruiting and national service meetings, and in these side by side are Catholic and Protestant speakers.

A great factor in all this has been the Y. M. C. A. in every camp from the Atlantic to the Pacific, with its broad program centering about the "Red Triangle" and its almost endless ramifications. Here business of every kind is transacted for the soldiers, wholesome athletics fostered, and social, educational, and religious needs ministered to. Here, too, under the same roof the Roman Catholics meet for mass, the Anglicans for Holy Communion, and battalions representing various faiths for Church parade. Surely an out-

come will be a religious brotherhood never yet experienced, with a full-orbed religion never before realized. The old narrowness and exclusion will be buried never to rise again.

A summary of all experiences, then, must show a manifest ennobling of life and character. In claiming this there is no gainsaying the fact that war is dehumanizing, brutal, and all that is evil. In its support not a syllable of good can be uttered. The present awful struggle will more than ever brand it as a veritable hell. And yet because these conceptions prevailed in Canada even in a much less intensified form than now, and because of an utter absence of the war spirit, it is possible, in spite of war's savagery, to reach out to a higher goal than before this cruel struggle was thrust upon the Allies. The goals already indicated in temperance and other things evidence this.

There have been untold sorrow and suffering, but out of the many, many times heated furnace of affliction is coming the refined gold. There have been incalculable sacrifices in the giving of all that is noblest and best, but it is the giving which bringeth an increase more and more. Canada is surely reaching a higher and better life, and will continue on to yet nobler and more worthy goals and aims.



A SOLDIERS' CAMP SERVICE IN CANADA, WHERE MEN OF ALL CREEDS UNITE IN RELIGIOUS WORSHIP

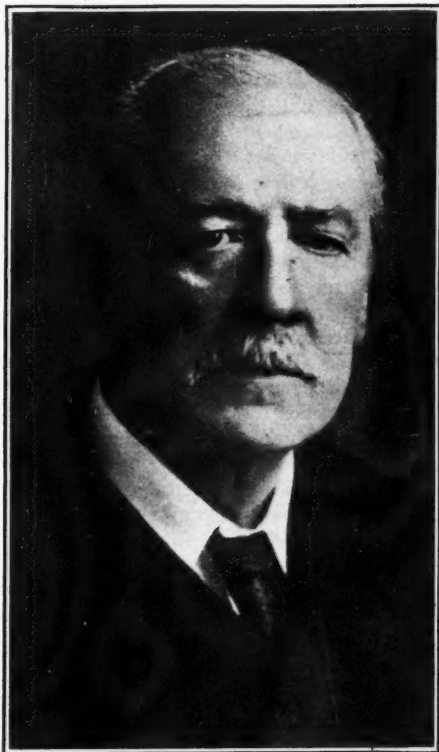
THE EARL OF CROMER

EGYPT'S GREAT ADMINISTRATOR

LORD CROMER is dead, a few months after Kitchener—the two men whose names stand for the resurrection of Egypt. Lord Cromer was one of the great pro-consuls through whom England rules an empire four or five times as great, and four times as populous, as the Roman Empire of the Cæsars; an empire which includes 300,000,000 Asiatics and 50,000,000 Africans, all of whom are practically governed, and beneficially governed, by England, on lines laid down by men of the type of Cromer. He had the British gift for rule, and with it the British reticence, the limitation of sympathy which makes Englishmen respected where Frenchmen are loved. By training, Cromer was a scholar and a soldier; by nature, he was an autocrat, one of the "ruling class" of England, who know how to rule.

Born near Cromer in Norfolk, Evelyn Baring was the ninth son of Henry Baring, M. P., a typical English country gentleman with a large titled cousinage. The future Lord Cromer entered the Royal Artillery in 1858—the year in which the Empire took over India from the old East India Company—and went to the Ionian Isles, then a British possession, as Aide-de-Camp to Sir Henry Storks, the High Commissioner. Evelyn Baring was gazetted Captain in 1870, and two years later went to India as private secretary to his cousin, Lord Northbrook, the Viceroy of India. The acts of a private secretary do not get into history, but we may judge that Evelyn Baring carried out his intricate tasks with conspicuous success, as, in 1876, being then thirty-five, he was made a Companion of the Star of India and sent to Egypt as British Commissioner of the Egyptian Public Debt. Three years later Major Baring was made British Controller General in Egypt.

But it seemed for a time that his great work in Egypt, for which he had shown a sovereign aptitude, was to be cut short, after only four years, for in 1880, just at the time when Gladstone was converted to Irish Home Rule, Major Baring was transferred from Egypt to India, to become Financial



THE LATE LORD CROMER

Member of Council under the Marquis of Ripon, the Viceroy, the great Roman Catholic nobleman in whose interest Gladstone later made his last great speech in the House of Commons, seeking to change the law of England so that Lord Ripon might be made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Gladstone made the point that a Buddhist or a Mohammedan might legally be the Viceroy of Ireland, while a Roman Catholic could not.

Lord Ripon's Viceroyalty in India is remembered still as a period of extraordinary sympathy and expansion towards the natives and a careful and painstaking study and cultivation of Indian public opinion, with first tentative efforts at local self-government—all expressions of Gladstone's humanitarian and Home Rule creed. But Evelyn Baring did not saturate himself with the

open-hearted and sympathetic spirit of his chief, and in 1883, after three years' work in India, he went back to Egypt as a Knight of the Star of India, to fulfil the duties of "British Agent and Consul General," but, in effect, to exercise practically autocratic control. His reputation for rigidity, for the possession of a heavy hand, was commemorated in a quartet of very bad, but very amusing and indicative verses:

The virtues of Patience are known,

But I think that, when put to the touch,

The people of Egypt will own, with a groan,

There's an Evil in Baring too much. . . .

It has been graphically said that Sir Evelyn Baring found in Egypt "not a clean slate, but a worn-out papyrus." Egypt had, of course, nothing resembling real native rule; indeed, since the days of the Persian conquest and Alexander the Great's invasion, which set his general, Ptolemy, on the throne, Egypt has never had a native government. But Egypt had, further, a foreign rule of a particularly bad and ruinous kind: a Turkish viceroyalty, with all the vices of the Turkish temper added to all the mischief of a Mohammedan fiscal system.

The Turks are a fine, manly race, with splendid powers of endurance; but, as Lord Bryce has so recently told the world, as rulers they are so hopelessly bad as to be impossible. The religion of the Prophet makes manly men; in certain regions throughout much of Africa and India it is far more successful in winning new adherents and imbuing them with certain virtues of self-respect than is Christianity; but as the inspiration of effective, honest, able government it has shown itself to be most defective just where Christianity is strongest.

Therefore in India, as in European Turkey, in Egypt as in Morocco, the native populations had an infinite deal to gain by changing their Moslem tyrants for English and French overlords. And at no point of administration was this more wholly true than in the region of finance and taxation. All forms of Mohammedan taxation are hopelessly bad; and we must remember that

no part of government comes so close to the common man as does taxation; it was on a question of unjust taxation that the United States separated from England.

The root of the evil in Mohammedan taxation is that nobody knows, or can possibly know, how much taxes he will be called on to pay. The gathering of taxes is farmed, generally to the highest bidder, who then has the right, and is given the power, to take from the taxpayer as much as he can; generally, the whole floating wealth of the taxpayer, and therefore of the people. This system of uncertain and extortionate taxes ruined the Mogul government in India, making the coming of Clive and Warren Hastings a veritable godsend; it filled the Balkan countries, while they were under Turkish rule, with immeasurable misery and led them to revolt after revolt and finally to revolution and liberty; it lingered on in Egypt, bringing its invariable concomitants of robbery and woe, until the fiscal system, practically introduced into Egypt by Lord Cromer, gave the old tax-gatherer his death blow and, after centuries, made it possible for the Egyptian fellahen to know exactly what their taxes were, and, having paid their taxes, to keep the rest of their possessions in complete security.

Lord Cromer has written much and well, his great work being, of course, the history of modern Egypt; he has written a life of Abbas II, the Khedive of Egypt; he has written of ancient and modern imperialism, comparing the rule of Britain with the rule of Rome and, incidentally, showing himself to be a first-class Latin and Greek scholar.

Returning to England in 1907 with the rank of earl (he had earlier been made a baron, then a viscount), Lord Cromer became, in the House of Lords, one of the great figures making for dignity and stability, filling, as has been said, much the same rôle as had been filled by the Duke of Devonshire, who, as Marquis of Hartington, was first Gladstone's right-hand man, and then his chief opponent. Lord Cromer stood for the solid force, the imperial dignity of England; and his death leaves the nation poorer.





BRITISH TROOPS MOUNTED ON CAMELS IN FRONT OF THE SPHINX AND PYRAMIDS

EGYPTIAN PRAISE OF ENGLAND

[In view of the recent deaths of Kitchener and Cromer, with their great records of administrative work in Egypt, we are glad to print herewith a remarkable tribute to English justice and protection, from the pen of an Arab writer. It appeared in a recent number of the Arabic paper, *Al Hoda*, of New York, as special correspondence from Cairo, Egypt, and is translated for us by Miss Mary Caroline Holmes. Readers should remember that the word "fellah" designates the humble member of the peasant farming villages of the Nile Valley. Righteous rule ought to bring contentment like this to all regions that are now, or at some time have been, included in the Turkish Empire.—THE EDITOR.]

It was formerly said of Egypt, "The quiver of Allah shadows His earth." It is fitting to-day to call this land The Place of Rest and The Valley of Abundance. I do not know of a country concerned in the war which has the advantages of Egypt, so far as serenity of mind and comfortable living go.

And we all know this is because of the favor of the good government of that just power, which has spread protection around this land, and that she has taken upon herself the defense of it and contention for its rights and care for its various interests.

The enemy has attempted to disturb this serenity and happiness, and to invade our country, but every time he has retreated, stumbling back along the trail of his disappointment and failure. And if we are not deceived, should he be persuaded to return yet again,—and we were cut off from help and unable to attack or flee,—he would be impotent to pass beyond that impregnable wall confronting him,—the breasts of the heroes guarding the Suez Canal and the Valley of the Nile.

All Egyptians understand this in this happy land, and if there have been some doubts they have all fled, and nothing remains but to praise God for the measure of peace and confidence everywhere manifest. We watch the arena of the war, and behold mighty conflicts, agony, loss, defeat, yet the universal belief is—and we find no place for doubt—in the ultimate triumph of the munitions, men and money of the Allies.

Our cotton crop this year has exceeded our wildest dreams, and sells at unheard-of prices. Hence the condition of the fellah is greatly improved, and money owing the banks has been paid. It is a saying in Egypt that when the fellah is prosperous the whole land prospers.

"Give and take" has returned, and the wheels of industry are turning in blessing to the common good, notwithstanding we pay high prices for certain commodities.

The land of Egypt faces the future expectantly, moving forward to a natural development up the ladder of progress and success.



DWIGHT B. HEARD, OF PHOENIX

A WESTERN LEADER OF MEN

THE HON. DWIGHT B. HEARD has for several years been president of the American National Live-stock Association. He lives at Phoenix, Ariz., where he publishes a good newspaper, carries on a great cattle and ranching business, and keeps incessantly busy with many affairs both public and private. He was born in Boston, spent his early business life in Chicago, and went to Arizona about twenty-three years ago. He is a national type, a true and broad-minded American. He views the agricultural and industrial problems of the country, not as a money-maker, but rather as a statesman concerned for the common good. His opening address at the annual conven-

tion of the stock-growers, held this year at Cheyenne, Wyo., was a model in its statement of facts, its sound judgments, and its wise suggestions. Mr. Heard is an authority on irrigation and all the problems of Western development. At our request, he has written for us the very timely article on our national meat problem, which we present in the four following pages.

Dwight Heard stands for a constructive program in politics and in business. He had always been a progressive with a small "p," and in 1912 he became a leader of the organized Progressive movement. But there is nothing partisan in his make-up, and he co-operates with all good men.

THE LIVE-STOCK MARKETING PROBLEM

BY DWIGHT B. HEARD

ONE of the great problems which confronts America to-day from the standpoint of economic preparedness is the question of how to provide for greater efficiency and economy in the production, distribution, and marketing of our farm products.

The awakened public interest in better methods of marketing was convincingly illustrated in the attendance of over one thousand delegates at the national conference on marketing and farm credits held in Chicago last December. Forty-seven States and many Canadian Provinces were represented. The attendance was thoroughly representative, including members of many government bureaus and of the staffs of most of the State agricultural colleges. Hundreds of coöperative agricultural associations sent delegates, and the conference was an interesting mingling of scientific students and practical men of affairs, all working toward a common end with a fine spirit of real and effective public service.

Those in charge of this conference tried to direct its work along practical, constructive lines, and facts, not buncombe, were the order of the day. The following resolution on live-stock marketing, presented by the chairman of the committee on resolutions, Mr. Elwood Mead, was unanimously adopted by the conference:

We urge upon Congress the making of an adequate appropriation and the giving of adequate authority to the Federal Trade Commission to enable it to cover all important phases of the problem, including the experience of other countries with municipal abattoirs and coöperatively owned packing plants, to the end that a free and uncontrolled market may be assured; that any existing abuses may be corrected; that present wastes may be eliminated, and that new and better methods may be adopted. We further urge that the fullest publicity be given to all facts affecting the prices of live stock received by the producer and the cost of meat products paid by the consumer.

LIVE STOCK OUR GREATEST BUSINESS

When we realize that the production, slaughtering, and marketing of live stock and

its products is our greatest national industry, not only from the standpoint of money invested, but from the standpoint of the number of people employed, we realize how vital it is that this vast business should be conducted on such a basis as will justify the stock producer and feeder remaining in the business, as well as those who slaughter and distribute the country's meat products. The United States to-day produces over one-third of the meat consumed in the civilized world, exclusive of China. Our national meat supply, however, has fallen from 248.2 pounds per capita in 1899 to 219.6 in 1916, a decline of over 11½ per cent. We must continue as a great stock-producing country, not only to maintain our nation as a meat-eating people, but that our soil fertility may be maintained and conserved.

With the close of the fearful tragedy which is now devastating Europe, new economic problems will confront this nation, one of the most important of which will be to devise better methods of live-stock production, marketing, and distribution, that the whole industry may be on a better balanced basis.

ARGENTINA'S COMPETITION

Argentina is to-day a very powerful competitor of this nation in supplying meat products. She is steadily increasing her efficiency in handling her meat supply, steadily increasing the area of that wonderful forage crop—alfalfa, and steadily increasing her packing-house facilities. Her natural resources are almost unlimited. It is interesting to note to-day that for every thousand inhabitants she has 4487 head of cattle, while we have but 739 and Germany but 327. From now on our own live-stock industry must be developed along lines of greatest economic efficiency, and waste and speculation must be eliminated, if we are successfully to meet this growing competition from South America, and be prepared to supply such portion of the meat products consumed by Europe as will not interfere

with the adequate meat supply of our own people.

IMPROVEMENT IN MARKETING CONDITIONS

For a number of years the American National Live Stock Association, through its committees, has been thoroughly studying this big live-stock marketing problem in the hope of working out definite plans for constructive improvement. At our national convention at El Paso in January, 1916, this question of an improvement in marketing conditions was the most vital one before the convention, and the following quotations are taken from a resolution unanimously adopted by the convention:

We also find that regardless of the great losses sustained last year by those who fed cattle and hogs, the packing companies made the largest profits in their history, and while the foot and mouth disease was a great catastrophe to those who fed and marketed fat cattle and hogs, the result to the packers seems to have been the opposite. . . .

We recommend the appointment of a committee of five who shall have the power and be authorized to investigate the present market situation and ascertain definitely what can be done in the matter. Said committee to be authorized to secure the very best legal talent that is available, and empowered to investigate the desirability of seeking relief from our situation through governmental agencies. . . .

Your committee further recommends that as much information as possible be secured, from government sources or otherwise, as to the margins between the prices paid for cattle on the hoof and the prices paid at the large cities and other places for dressed beef; this investigation to cover a period of several years, to the end that the producer may know when he is receiving a low price for his stock, whether the meats and all by-products have been reduced in price according to the consumer. We believe that, when this question is correctly presented to the public, we shall have the entire coöperation and sympathy of the consumers.

As the then executive officer of the Association, I appointed as our market committee Mr. Henry A. Jastro, of California, probably one of the best-posted men on live-stock conditions in this country; Mr. E. L. Burke, a well-known feeder of Nebraska; Mr. A. E. de Riccles, of Colorado, who had given many years of careful study to this marketing question; Governor J. B. Kendrick of Wyoming, now Senator-elect from that State; and Mr. Isaac T. Pryor, of Texas, who has recently succeeded me as president of our National Association.

A guarantee fund of \$54,000 was raised within twenty minutes to provide for the

necessary expense of the work involved, and during the past year these gentlemen have been investigating this marketing subject with the greatest thoroughness, and while their work has been thorough, it has been absolutely free from malice, openly conducted, always constructive and never destructive. The stockmen of the country have no objection to big business because it is big, and we want to make it very clear that in the investigation of live-stock marketing and the live-stock industry which we propose, if methods of change can be suggested in the producing branch of the business which will add to the public welfare, we shall be as ready to put such changes into effect as we are ready to demand changes on the part of the packing interests in their methods.

Our market committee secured as their counsel Hon. Walter L. Fisher, former Secretary of the Interior, and the results of their careful work during the past year have convinced the committee and its counsel that the only way to get to the bottom of this whole question and evolve constructive remedies which will add to the welfare, not only of the live-stock producer and feeder, but of the consumer of meat products, is to have this question investigated through some federal tribunal with complete authority, empowered to subpoena witnesses, take testimony under oath, examine books, and so forth, that all the facts as to this vital national problem may be obtained.

ASKING THE GOVERNMENT'S COÖPERATION

As a result of their investigations our market committee reported at our recent convention in Cheyenne, Wyoming, held on January 18, 19 and 20, that they felt that the Department of Agriculture, through its Office of Markets, working in coöperation with the Federal Trades Commission, was the proper agency to conduct this investigation, and on the recommendation of our committee the convention unanimously passed the following resolution:

Resolved, by the American National Live Stock Association, in convention assembled at Cheyenne, Wyoming, January 18-20, 1917, that the Congress of the United States is respectfully, but earnestly, requested and urged to enact at once appropriate legislation giving to the Department of Agriculture adequate means and authority to secure complete and reliable information, under the safeguards and sanction of law and conscience, with respect to the important matters committed to its charge, so that the Department of Agricul-

ture may have the same power as is now possessed by the Federal Trade Commission with respect to the matters under its jurisdiction, and all to the end that these two great agencies of the federal government may, each in its own field, and both together in those fields in which they can so effectively cooperate, more efficiently promote the rightful interests of the producer, the manufacturer, and the consumer, and thus the welfare of the nation.

COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE PACKERS

The conditions complained of by those who have impartially studied this situation seem to be about as follows:

First, the vast and steadily increasing power of the big packers, vested in a small group of men;

Second, startling fluctuations in prices at certain seasons, which indicate speculative or manipulative influences in the market, and seem not to be based on the normal law of supply and demand;

Third, the irregular, uncertain and undependable and unauthoritative market reports of the past;

Fourth, large and increasing profits in the packing-house business, largely due, probably, to the great advance in the value of by-products of meat animals slaughtered, due to war conditions; but which increased profits do not seem to have been reflected in the prices paid to producers, or in a proper decrease in the cost of meat products to the consumer;

Fifth, fluctuating and unstable supply of live stock at the marketing centers, resulting in what is sometimes known as a "two-days' market."

Another feature which has caused special discontent is the control of a large number of the stock yards by packing interests who often control terminal transportation facilities; this condition often causing dissatisfaction to the shipper and interfering with the operations of the independent buyer.

While these stock yards are frequently run along very efficient lines, the cattle producer often naturally objects to having his cattle handled in the stock yards, fed and weighed by the representatives of those to whom he expects to sell, and even although these functions are well and properly performed it leaves a feeling of discontent in the mind of the shipper, and I believe that eventually the only proper method to handle public stock yards and maintain the confidence of the people in their operations, is to make them public utilities and place them under thoroughgoing control and regulation.

It can be readily seen that definite remedies for these conditions can only be justly devised after a thorough investigation made by the Department of Agriculture and the Federal Trades Commission working together to the end that the exact existing conditions may be ascertained; desirable improvements suggested, and such just cooperation devised between the producing, feeding, slaughtering and distributing branches of this vast live-stock business as will produce economic efficiency in the handling of live stock from the "cradle to the table," as one stockman has tersely phrased it.

In my judgment, out of this whole matter will come better cooperation between the producer and feeder on one side, and the packer on the other; a greater knowledge on the part of the meat-consuming public concerning the various factors involved in the cost of meat, a probable increased consumption of meat products, and a steady elimination of speculative influences in the meat industry.

Owing to the rather short time that dressed beef is held before it reaches the consumer, there is comparatively little opportunity for speculative influence in beef. The hog products are, however, a very different matter, as a large percentage of the hog goes into the cellars of the packers and is transferred into products of a more or less speculative nature, which are sometimes held for many months. This phase of the situation will undoubtedly receive very careful consideration by the Federal Trades Commission.

MARKET PUBLICITY

The awakened interest in better methods of marketing, and the need for wide and authoritative publicity as to the actual market price of live stock, based on varying grades at the central markets, and of regular government reports thereon, as well as of the supplies of meat and provisions held in storage by the slaughtering interests, has become very evident, and at its last session Congress passed an appropriation of \$65,000 to obtain these facts and make monthly, and, if necessary, weekly, publication thereof, and the Office of Markets of the Department of Agriculture is now making regular and full reports in this connection, available to all who ask for the service.

Congress has become thoroughly aroused to the need of such an investigation as is proposed. Several congressional hearings have

been held during the year on this subject in connection with various resolutions introduced by Mr. Borland of Missouri; and Mr. Carlin, chairman of the sub-committee of the Judiciary Committee of the House, recently reported favorably to the House on the new resolution of Mr. Borland, which provides for the thorough investigation through the coöperation of the Federal Trades Commission and Department of Agriculture, to the end that "the extent, manner and methods of any manipulation of the markets or control of the visible supply of food products by any individuals, groups, associations, or corporations, and especially those engaged in the slaughtering and marketing of meat products."

PACKERS AND STOCKMEN IN CONFERENCE

I have always felt that the sensible, practical thing to do was to sit down in conference with the real executive heads of the packers, thresh out the situation fairly with them, arrange what matters could be adjusted by mutual agreement, and decide on some just method of procedure for straightening out those differences on which an agreement could not be reached. To this end we held a very interesting conference with the packers early last December in Chicago, which, on behalf of the stockmen, was attended by the members of the market committee and a number of us who were vitally interested, including Mr. Walter L. Fisher, our attorney; the packers being represented by Mr. Ogden Armour, Mr. Louis F. Swift, Mr. Edward Morris, Mr. Thos. Wilson, Mr. Edward A. Cudahy, Jr., and several others.

The packers took the position that an investigation such as proposed was unnecessary, but finally agreed that if the stockmen, on their part, would be willing to have the investigation cover all branches of the meat industry, they would withdraw their opposition; and I am very hopeful that without delay this important investigation, the results of which so seriously affect the welfare of the entire country, may proceed. Fortunately the Federal Trades Commission, during the hearings on the original Borland Resolution last spring, made a careful study

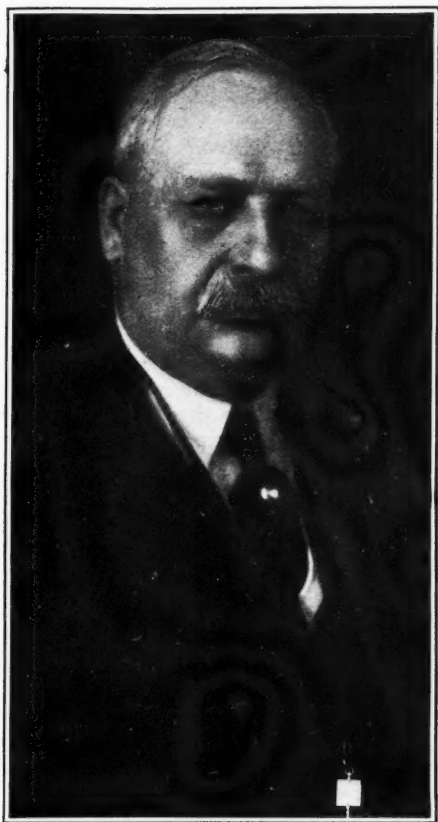
as to the probable cost of such an investigation of the meat-packing industry and related branches of business, and reported the probable cost of \$142,000 covering a period of eighteen months; and with prompt and favorable action by the House in this matter, this much-needed investigation should soon be under way.

The time has certainly come to get to the bottom of this question thoroughly and fairly. The "law of the jungle," under which many have operated in the past, should cease, and a new and more human law based on economy, efficiency, coöperation, and just dealing should take its place. If on investigation the Government should find that the law of supply and demand has been obstructed; if abuses and wastes are found to exist, a comprehensive, constructive plan should be presented which would remedy these evils, increase the confidence of the meat-consuming public, and eventually prove to the lasting advantage of all those engaged in the different branches of this great industry.

It has been said of the stockmen who have been carrying on this work for a better, fairer policy that they wish to destroy and cripple the packing interests. Such is far from the truth. The packing industry in this country is a marvelous development of American efficiency, initiative and resource, and the average stockman wishes to see the packer prosper, but he feels that he is entitled to a just and reasonable share in this prosperity. The stockmen, like all men whose lives are spent in the open, believe in a thoroughgoing, square deal. In insisting on the proposed investigation, while we shall make every effort to have the investigation thorough, we want it to be absolutely fair and impartial, and the results given promptly to the public, together with some definite, constructive plan for improvement, which shall prevent speculation in food products, simplify distribution, check waste, assure the unhampered operation of the law of supply and demand, encourage production, and by increasing the supply of wholesale meat at prices unaffected by speculation materially increase meat consumption.



GOV. STUART, AS STOCK RAISER



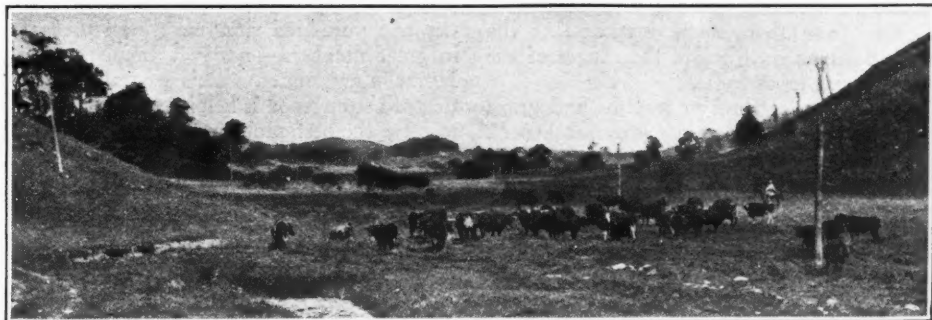
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GOVERNOR STUART OF VIRGINIA

GEORGE WASHINGTON was the chief farmer of his time, a lover of fields and forests, a devotee of progressive

agriculture and stock-raising. Virginia has always been fortunate in having among its leaders men who were great gentlemen in their personal qualities, and devoted to farming beyond all other pursuits. The late Henry Fairfax was one of this race of splendid men and pre-eminent farmers. As notable as any of his generation is the present Governor, Hon. Henry Carter Stuart, who has a farm of about sixty thousand acres in the blue-grass highlands of the southwestern part of the State, and is the foremost raiser of beef cattle in the eastern half of the United States. He is a man of culture, of legal training, and of varied public and private activities. But above all he is an enthusiastic farmer and stock-breeder, whose enterprise is helping in the development of an extensive region in the Piedmont and Appalachian South. We have asked Mr. Meade Ferguson, the capable editor of the *Southern Planter*, published at Richmond, to interview Governor Stuart for us on beef production in the East. Our readers will learn something wholly new to them from the Governor's statements which appear in the pages immediately following this.

The methods developed by Governor Stuart, through intelligent effort and long experience, are not those that merely enrich him while depleting the land or putting his humbler neighbors at disadvantage. On the contrary, his treatment of the land improves it constantly, and his good methods are adopted by increasing numbers of smaller farmers with whom he acts virtually in co-operation.



BEEF CATTLE IN ONE OF THE VALLEYS OF BLUE-GRASS PASTURE ON GOVERNOR STUART'S ESTATE

THE PRODUCTION OF BEEF CATTLE IN THE EAST

BY MEADE FERGUSON

(Editor of the *Southern Planter*)

MEAT production in the United States has not kept pace with the increase in population. Our imports of beef in the fiscal years 1914 and 1915 were actually greater than our exports, therefore the production of beef in this, the greatest food-producing nation in the world, has become one of our serious problems.

Since the great ranges of the West are fast disappearing, and with them the countless number of beeves which were annually thrown upon the market at a price far below that which was possible to feed cattle on the average farm, a readjustment of conditions has taken place. The supply of beef running short of the ever-increasing demand caused prices to go up, and the beef industry gradually attracted the attention of small landholders and eventually must be supported entirely by them.

There is perhaps no portion of the United States so well adapted, under present conditions, to the economical production of beef cattle as the Eastern and Southeastern States.

In order to learn the methods to be employed in making these States the future great beef-producing sections of America, I have been glad to obtain the views of Governor Henry Carter Stuart of Virginia, who is the largest and most successful cattleman east of the Mississippi. Governor Stuart owns 55,000 acres of blue-grass lands in southwest Virginia, and there made a success of the cattle business even before the ranges of the West began to dwindle.

"I feed my cattle four months and graze them eight months," said Governor Stuart. "They go direct from the pasture to New York, where they top the market during August, September, October, and November. I do not buy concentrates of any kind for winter feeding, but allow the cattle to run on pasture during the winter and feed them a ration of hay, corn stover, and corn. The corn is grown by tenants who contract to

grow and feed it at so much per bushel.

"By a crop rotation in which legumes predominate, I have been able to increase the yield of corn more than 50 per cent., and by the use of ground limestone, manure, and re-seeding have greatly increased the capacity of the pasture.

"For my supply of feeders I depend upon buying yearlings and calves from smaller farmers who practise a diversified system of farming and keep a number of native and grade cows. These cows are bred to pure-bred beef sires and produce an excellent type of beef animals, which are hardy and readily take on flesh when turned on blue-grass pastures.

"The production of calves and feeders, as well as baby beef, on the small farms is increasing very rapidly, and is the more important phase of beef production in the East. Without this supply of feeders the larger beef producers would be seriously handicapped. The small farmers in the East, who are practising more and more a diversified system of farming, now make it a point to fatten for the market one load or more of beeves each year, which, under the influence of present prices, will be augmented as time goes on.

"Every effort is being made in Virginia and the Southern States to encourage stock-raising on small farms. Live-stock associations are being formed in the different counties and pure-bred sires have been procured in great numbers,—nearly a hundred Short Horns in my county. This general introduction of better blood is helping very materially to solve the beef problem.

"Many portions of the Piedmont and Tidewater sections of the East are favorable to production of beef on farms. The native grasses furnish good pasturage through a long season. In these sections alfalfa, clover, cow peas, and soy beans grow to perfection. It might be mentioned here that it is now generally believed in this section

that soy bean meal or cake is a better concentrate than cotton-seed meal.

"In the Piedmont and Tidewater sections of Virginia and the South there is no limit to the amount of soy beans which can be produced. This section is also the home of the silo. Taking all of these things in consideration, the mild climate, cheap land and the ease with which all foodstuffs can be grown, including concentrates and plenty of native grasses, I do not hesitate to say that the possibilities of economical beef production in the east are practically unlimited."

GEORGIA AND THE CAROLINAS

Knowing that Governor Stuart was also interested, if not the leading spirit, in an 128,000-acre tract in Georgia, which is being developed for cattle-raising, we asked the question, What about beef cattle production south of Virginia—the Carolinas and Georgia, for instance? "That," said the Governor, "is a little different from Virginia but of equal importance and possibilities. True, further south, we have the small farmer, who is now learning to diversify and is breeding the native cows to pure-bred beef sires and getting, therefore, a good beef animal which he is handling very much after the manner of the small farmers in Virginia.

"The long growing season, with plenty of native grass and the ease with which abundant forage can be produced, are all in his favor.

"At the present time, however, the South presents a beef-cattle proposition different from any other section of our country, in that there we have ideal range conditions, far superior to those of the Rocky Mountain States, at least, for breeding purposes. On our range in Georgia, there is an abundance of wild grass which supports the native cows the year round. We find it profitable, however, to supplement the grass during the short season with a light forage ration for a period of about three months. By doing this, our breeding cows are kept in excellent condition.

"We are starting on the range with native cows. These are to be bred to purebred sires and 80 per cent. should produce calves every year. The calves when they arrive at the proper age will be shipped further north, where they will be grown and fitted for the market. The range lands of the south, when developed for the purpose,

will take the position of a nursery from which an almost inexhaustible supply of calves and yearlings and eventually feeders can be obtained for the north and east.

"Formerly it would have been impractical to have attempted to raise young cattle in the South for shipping and fitting for market in the North and East on account of the cattle tick quarantine. But now the Federal and State authorities have the tick situation well in hand and it is only a matter of a short while when the tick will be entirely eradicated. Certainly in sections where private enterprises cooperate actively with the authorities.

"Another industry which goes hand in hand with cattle on the ranges is sheep-raising. The cheap native ewes bred to black-face sires produce fine mutton lambs. These ewes are maintained eight months in the year on native grasses and four months during lambing season on green crops grown on the same land which produces feed for the cattle. The crop being harvested in early fall the land is sown in oats, rape or rye, thus producing high-class nourishment, and, in fact, forced feeding on land which has already grown the forage crop. Along in December or January the ewes are transferred from the range to these oat fields where they remain until the lambs are marketed. By this method, we can produce first-class mutton lambs without further cost. Needless to say the wool is also a valuable consideration.

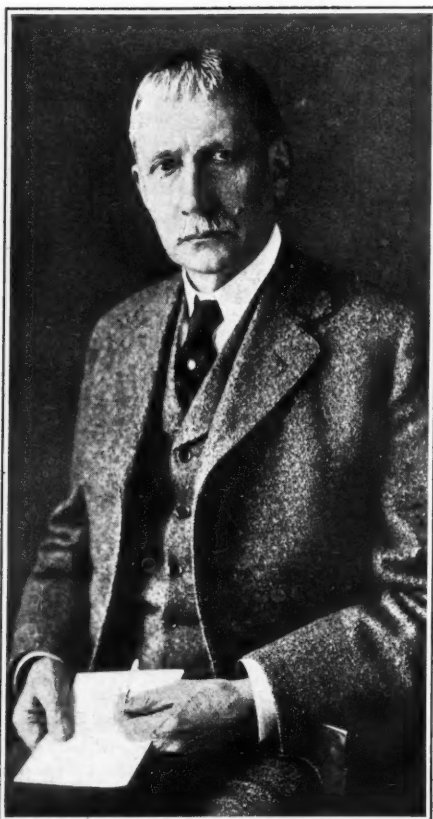
"On our range in Georgia we have at present 5000 native cows and 2000 native ewes, which will be increased to 15,000 cows and 5000 ewes. In breeding the native dams to purebred sires, we will continually grade our animals up. In a few years the herds will consist entirely of good grades, which will have the meat-producing qualities of the sires and the hardiness of the dams.

"There are great areas of land in the South now available for range purposes which can be had at a very low price. On this land we find growing a species of long-leaf pine which does not affect the growth of the grass, but which will produce timber sufficient to carry the purchase price of the land.

"When these range lands are fully utilized, there will be no beef problem in the East."

A STATESMAN ON RECORD

THE ADDRESSES AND PAPERS OF ELIHU ROOT



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HON. ELIHU ROOT, OF NEW YORK

IN the field of public affairs, as in every other field, knowledge must be made available in order to be of the highest service. Recent events have shown us the great need of accurate knowledge of our own history as regards foreign relationships. That history has been made, in large measure, by individual statesmen. Under our system, Presidents and Secretaries of State exercise a larger initiative in the making of diplomatic history and in the direction of foreign policy than is the case with individual executives in any other important country.

Yet it is not always easy to know just what was said or done at a given time under cer-

tain historical circumstances. A scholar and editor like Mr. Worthington Ford, therefore, is entitled to our gratitude for giving us even at this late day, in a series of volumes entitled "The Writings of John Quincy Adams," a ready opportunity to get at knowledge—which otherwise might be hard for the student to unearth—relating to the diplomatic period of the statesman who, as Secretary of State, promulgated the Monroe Doctrine.

A more immediate debt of gratitude is due to the editors who have conceived the plan and are carrying out the work of giving us the principal utterances on public matters of the Hon. Elihu Root. Previous to 1898, Mr. Root, as one of the leaders of the New York bar, had also been eminent as a citizen and a publicist. But his great official career began at the time of our war with Spain, when Mr. McKinley persuaded him to become Secretary of War; and it continued practically unbroken until last year. Mr. Root's achievements have been those of a statesman of the highest rank, as every one is aware; and his utterances on many occasions have been noteworthy, as no one would deny. Yet he was regarded—during the periods of his memorable service as Secretary of War, as Secretary of State, and as United States Senator—as primarily a man of deeds rather than words. He was not classed with those statesmen whose chief function is to expound and to debate, and to influence the public mind by incessant platform appearances. Mr. Root has been regarded as reticent in speech—never prolific. His career has been that of a "constructive" statesman—one who could negotiate; could organize; could quietly achieve the solution of difficult problems.

It is, therefore, realized by very few people how completely through his periods of official life he was also recording or expounding the things that he was endeavoring to work out as a man of action. Mr. Root has never shut himself up in his study to compose a systematic treatise on international law, or on any theme in the field of public affairs. He has written reports, made speeches, prepared lectures and addresses.

These utterances have been a sort of by-product of his activities in the field of statesmanship. If many or most of these utterances had somehow been destroyed—if they had never been preserved in print—the loss would, indeed, have been great. Yet Mr. Root's eminence as an American statesman would have been secure, because his achievements have been wrought into the fabric of our governmental and international history.

Edmund Burke's fame doubtless rests more upon what he said than upon what he did. He would have had a place in English history even if his great Parliamentary and forensic addresses had not been preserved for our instruction and delight. Mr. Gladstone's was a determining leadership in many important decisions and policies that shaped the course of events; but he was even more potent as the first orator and debater of his time, who molded and led the public opinion that dominated a great party, by means of his power on the platform and on the floor of the House of Commons. Our own Daniel Webster was greater in expression than in action; and this in a different way might be said of Clay and Calhoun. Abraham Lincoln had the rare combination of talents which made him capable and responsible in action while also masterly in exposition. Alexander Hamilton, Andrew Jackson, and Grover Cleveland had the power and courage to achieve things by action in the field of statesmanship. Jefferson's conceptions were the greatest of his day, and some of his actions, notably the Louisiana Purchase, are of unmatched importance in the shaping of our destinies. Primarily, however, he was an expositor and a mold of opinion, rather than a man of action.

Many public men participated in the American period that was shaped by the results of the war with Spain. The two whose work and careers will stand out conspicuously when the facts are all known are Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Root. Mr. Roosevelt has combined, in extraordinary degree, the power to influence public opinion, through writings and speeches, and the power to achieve results when holding place and power, through bold and constructive action. Mr. Root's career as an official in high executive authority covered a period of about ten years, and almost coincided with the larger official career of Mr. Roosevelt. In addition, Mr. Root served six years in the Senate, through the Taft administration and

through half of the Wilson administration.

While Secretary of War, Mr. Root brought about a reorganization of the army. But because our army was in occupation of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, it became necessary for the War Department to regulate the administration of those important regions. Mr. Root, more than any other man, worked out the problems of government that had to be solved for these island territories. Afterwards, as Secretary of State, Mr. Root set for himself a series of undertakings of the highest importance. There were outlying questions between the United States and Great Britain, having to do with the North Atlantic fisheries and other things. All these issues were solved by just and enlightened methods, or were put in the way of settlement. There were many things, in general and in detail, that bore upon our relations with the republics of Central and South America. In this field, also, Mr. Root proved himself a great diplomat and pacificator. There were questions with Japan, in the treatment of which Mr. Root, as Secretary, acting in conjunction with President Roosevelt, was notably successful.

Mr. Root is now in private life, and at the very zenith of his intellectual powers. Perhaps the most distinct of all the expressions of thoughtful public opinion last year was that which called for Mr. Root's services again at the Department of State. Our system of party government is unfortunate in that it deprives the country, at critical times, of the associated services of its best and most experienced statesmen. Ever since the outbreak of the European war, there ought to have been a council on the various aspects of international policy, to advise the President and the Secretary of State, and to advise, though not to overbear, the houses of Congress. Democratic members of such a council should have been the Hon. Richard Olney, the Hon. Judson Harmon, and the Hon. Alton B. Parker, with others. Among Republican members should have been Mr. Root, Mr. Roosevelt, and Mr. Taft. England, France, Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, Japan, and several of the smaller countries, have from the outset of the war constantly availed themselves of the services and advice of their most experienced and trusted statesmen. We alone have been deprived of counsel in international matters, and have as a result been imperiled by uncertain policies, improvised from time to time, and guided by

incidents and details, rather than by foresight and by accepted principles of policy.

What the country has lost and is losing in its failure to retain the services of a great international statesman like Mr. Root is the more strongly impressed upon the minds of thoughtful men as they take up the volumes now appearing one after another, in which are collected his papers and addresses made at different times upon public questions. These are not merely incidental or casual. They are documents of high authority, and of great legal and historical value. The editors are Mr. Robert Bacon and Mr. James Brown Scott. Mr. Bacon served under Mr. Root as Assistant Secretary of State and succeeded him for a short time as Secretary. Mr. Scott was Counselor of the State Department, is one of our most scholarly authorities in international law, and for various reasons is better qualified than anyone else to collect and edit Mr. Root's papers.

Three important volumes have already appeared, and there are to be at least three more. The Harvard University Press is to be commended for its enterprise and good taste in publishing these volumes and in giving them an appropriate form. First from the press, some months ago, was the volume entitled "Addresses on International Subjects." Its admirable index affords a means by which to discover how fully in these addresses Mr. Root has disclosed his views upon a very wide range of topics having to do with diplomacy and foreign affairs. This volume ends with that speech of Mr. Root's on our recent Mexican and German diplomacy that was delivered in New York in February of last year and printed in the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* just one year ago. It contains addresses and speeches on the Monroe Doctrine, on our treaty with Japan, on the Panama questions, on our treaty with Russia, and on other important topics, besides general addresses on the rights and duties of nations and the principles of international law.

There next appeared a volume entitled "Addresses on Government and Citizenship," all of which have to do with our own domestic politics. Some of the material was given as university lectures, and much of it grew out of Mr. Root's important work in two constitutional conventions. It includes several speeches made in the United States

Senate, and various addresses relating to the administration of justice.

The "Military and Colonial Policy of the United States" is the title of the newest volume in this series. It deals very largely with the constructive work of Mr. Root as Secretary of War in the period from 1898 to 1904. But it also includes some important speeches and addresses of a much more recent period. Its most valuable portions, from the historical standpoint, are those that relate to our Philippine policy, while it also contains much that is essential in relation to Cuba.

While Secretary of State, Mr. Root made a memorable tour of South America, delivering a series of addresses in southern capitals. As ex-officio chairman of the Pan-American Union, he made addresses on different occasions. We are to have, therefore, in the near future, a volume entitled "Central and South America and the United States," which must have a necessary place in any collection of works relating to American history and policy.

In 1910, Mr. Root was chief counsel for the United States in the North Atlantic Fisheries Arbitration. In 1903 he had been a member of the joint tribunal that settled the Alaska Boundary question. He and Ambassador Bryce had been able to adjust practically all questions that remained unsettled between the United States and Canada. These matters—especially the arbitrations—afford the material for another of the forthcoming volumes.

In the program as announced, there is to be a sixth volume, entitled "Political, Historical, and Commemorative Addresses." This will for the present, it may be supposed, complete what is quite beyond praise as a finely conceived and well-executed project of editing and publishing. Its documentary value gives it a permanent place of the first rank. That so well-considered a compilation should appear in the lifetime of a statesman is almost without parallel. Fortunately, there is good reason to expect that Mr. Root will prepare many more papers and addresses of permanent value, and that these will be embodied in future volumes. His lifetime of preparation fits him in a high degree for an influential part in the discussions of international policy that must occupy the attention of the world's best minds during the coming decade.—A. S.



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THE MESSIANIC ERA, OR THE RETURN TO EDEN

(This exceedingly sumptuous lunette flashes with rich color from the leafy screen pendant with pomegranates, figs, grapes, gourds, oranges and apples. The Young Messiah stands in the center of the painting typifying the purified children of spirit who are now entering into the "joy of the Lord." His face is informed with majesty and illumined with the freshly awakened consciousness of the glory and infinite splendor of the new life opening before him)

CHRISTIANITY IN MURAL DECORATIONS

"JUDAISM and Christianity" is the official name for the completed mural decorations executed by John Singer Sargent that decorate the walls of the upper story of the Boston Public Library. Thirty years ago the famous young portrait painter was approached by the firm of McKim, Mead & White, who arranged that he should decorate the stairways and halls leading to the special libraries of the new Library Building in Copley Square.

The major part of the entire work is now in place, and in five years we shall see the completion of the final details of the most marvelous assemblage of mural paintings in this country, fitly enshrined, as Mr. Frederick Coburn says in the *American Magazine of Art*, "within a palace of democratic learning." The public is more or less familiar with the earlier paintings representing the theme "Judaism." The tremendous "Frieze of the Prophets," great "Astarte," "Moloch," and the Egyptian deities, Isis, Osiris, and Horus, are incorporated among the permanent art images and memories of our minds. The new section, "Christianity," pictures the "Dogma of Redemption." In "The Ancilla

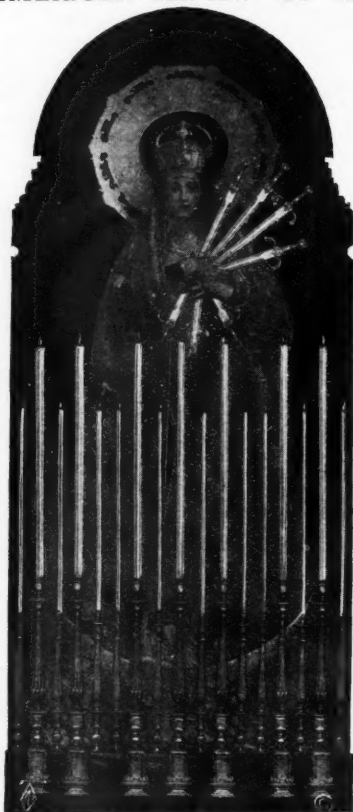
Madonna," we have represented the beauty of divine motherhood. The tender protective manner in which the Virgin holds her child might have been suggested by the statue in Padua, the Donatello Madonna. Over this Madonna hangs the large panel "The Five Joyful Mysteries of the Rosary." The most magnificent figure is the Mater Dolorosa or Madonna of Sorrows. This painting has been called a "noble example of the Spanish manner." The figure stands enwrapped in the splendor of gloom, behind a screen of candles. Below her feet is the crescent moon and thrust in her heart are seven swords, the "Seven Sorrows of the Virgin." Above her head is the panel "The Five Sorrowful Mysteries of the Rosary." The three lunettes are: "The Messianic Era or The Return to Eden," "Judgment" and "Gog and Magog." The last is the Old Testament conception of the chaotic cataclysm when the destruction of the earth takes place and the glory of mankind and the universe comes to an end. Two warriors in mortal combat, horses, chariots, broken temples and shattered shrines fall downward into the abyss of space. Against the sickly green of Saturn's rings,

illuminated by the flare of a dying comet, a vulture broods to typify the exultation of cosmic death.

The movement of the decorations as a whole is superb. They are a pageant of darkness and light, sin and righteousness, order and chaos: in sculpture and in pigment they portray the flux of spiritual power that adjusts the elements of life forever in eternal opposition that from them organic life may spring forth.

The authorized literary presentation of Mr. Sargent's work, written by Mr. Sylvester Baxter will be found in the Art Catalogue of the Boston Public Library.

The close observer will find multiplicate diversity in the formal ornamentation of the decorations. Much of this has been actually modeled by Mr. Sargent. The boldness of his use of materials to ef-



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THE MATER DOLOROSA

fect designs and enhance brilliant color schemes is exceedingly interesting. Individual parts are modeled in plaster and painted, strips of heavily gilded ribbed canvas are superimposed in certain places to bring out high lights; in fact almost every device known to mural art is used to advantage in these magnificent decorations.

The fact that Sargent laid aside more remunerative labor to toil as patiently as any artisan might upon this work gives it a special appeal to our admiration and appreciation. It is the gift of his genius to America, an inspiration to all and particularly to the young, who, as they ascend the stairways to the halls of learning, will reflect the brightness and glory of these idealistic paintings in the enthusiasm and achievement of their eager minds.



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THE JUDGMENT

(Mr. Sargent has conceived this lunette after the dogma of the Christian Church. If the literal figuration of the Angel of Judgment weighing the bodies of resurrected mortals is repellant, it is well to remember, that it is rather the symbolic presentation of the eternal weighing of good and evil, of the perpetual division by the will of opposing forces in the mind of man. Below the Angel of Judgment, the dead are plucked from their long sleep by a demon, and another demon thrusts into the hell fire that flames above and below, those who have been found wanting. To the left the angels with halos receive the redeemed)

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

ARMED NEUTRALITY LEAGUES

WRITING in the *Survey* (New York) for February 10, Professor Carlton J. H. Hayes, of Columbia University, recalls to our attention the fact that at the time of the American Revolution, when France and Spain were at war with England, the neutral nations were so restricted in trade by the seizure of merchant vessels and the proclamation of "paper" blockades, particularly on the part of Great Britain, that their situation became intolerable and Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Austria, and Portugal formed an Armed Neutrality League, which made these three demands:

(1) Free passage of neutral ships from port to port and along the coasts of combatant nations;

(2) Inviolability of an enemy's goods in neutral ships, with the exception of such goods as were contraband of war;

(3) Exact definition of a blockaded port, a merely nominal (paper) blockade, that is, one not enforced by a sufficient number of ships of war in the vicinity of the specified harbor being declared inadmissible.

This Armed Neutrality League did not have sufficient naval strength to put its decrees in full force in every case; but at least it won recognition of its principles from France, Spain, Holland, and the United States, which formed one group of belligerents. Professor Hayes also remarks that it brought about abatement of English pretensions in some degree.

Later, during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, neutrals were confronted with a similar situation. The United States, in defending its neutral commerce, almost came to blows with France and in the later stages of the same struggle actually did come to blows with Great Britain. In 1800, while the Franco-British conflict was going on, the Baltic powers revived their armed neutrality of twenty years before; but they were not able to resist British attacks and

within a few months the League was broken up.

Professor Hayes thinks, however, that the subsequent results of these Armed Neutrality Leagues of 1780 and 1800 were important. Neutral sentiment was crystallized and Great Britain was made to give her attention to demands for the revision of the rules of naval warfare. If such demands had come from any single member of the League they would probably have been ignored. In the Paris Declaration of 1856, and in the London Declaration of 1909, Great Britain gave adherence to the principles of the Armed Neutralities.

If, in the present world crisis, an attempt had been made by the United States and other neutral powers to form a similar league, the procedure might well have been somewhat as follows: First of all a declaration of principles would have been agreed upon, and for a manifesto of this sort Professor Hayes finds abundant precedent in international law and usage. It may be assumed that at least four points would be covered by such a declaration: (1) Contraband; (2) Blockade; (3) Convoy; and (4) Submarine Warfare. The first three were defined quite acceptably to neutrals in the London Declaration of 1909. Though never formally ratified by the powers, these declarations were signed at the time by the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Russia, Japan, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Spain, and Holland.

The regulation of submarine warfare would probably involve new applications of old principles, such as the immunity of unarmed merchantmen from attack unless they resisted search or attempted to run away; the inviolability of non-contraband goods on neutral merchantmen; and the safeguarding of the lives of non-combatants. The enforcement of such principles would clearly operate as a restriction on the methods of submarine warfare now employed by Germany.

GARDNER AND PREPAREDNESS

CONGRESSMAN AUGUSTUS PEABODY GARDNER of Massachusetts, doughty and well-prepared champion of Preparedness with a capital P, is the subject of an interesting sketch by William Hard in *Collier's* for February 3.

Yankee, descendant of New England ship-builders, Harvard graduate, son-in-law to Henry Cabot Lodge, representing the region carrying the traditions of the Choates, Storrs, and Pickerings, Gardner has a classic Massachusetts background. Nevertheless, his district is such as to make him an advocate of immigration restriction, and when it comes to statistics on Slovaks and Slovenes, Gardner is there with "the goods."

For eight consecutive terms Gardner has been representing the Sixth District of Massachusetts, also running for Governor in 1913, and coming through that experiment—in his own words—"the worst beaten man that ever ran."

The man Mr. Hard presents to us is a robust, busy, alert, candid, fearless, and efficient Congressman of the modern school, who card-indexes all his constituents and knows just what each of them is interested in, so that he doesn't make the mistake of sending nasturtium seeds to the deep-sea fisherman or dairy documents to the dweller in a tenement. This is the secret of his popularity.

"If you want to be independent," says Gardner, "if you want to indulge yourself in the luxury now and then of being a bit unpopular, you must keep in touch with all the votes in your own party, and you must also try to be on good terms, if you can, with a few thousand votes in the other party."

And his office in Washington shows an organization equipped for the job. Here is Hard's picture of it:

You open a door in one of the partitions, and you at once see and hear Gardner's daily routine statesmanship in full battle action. Where is the repose of the ordinary congressional office manned or womaned by a reposeful solitary secretary picking out a quiet letter on a subdued typewriter? Here are four typewriters firing salvos, with mounds of ammunition lying beside them. Here are three secretaries (headed by "Tony," whom you come to know later more completely as Wilfred W. Lufkin), and also two junior officers of a rank lower than secretary and also two midshipmen lads who are piling arguments into mail bags. On all sides rise tiers and turrets of filing cases marked "Seed Requests

1909" and "Seed Requests 1916," and "Preparedness Requests" and "Preparedness Manual Requests" and so on, mingled with fifty-foot shelves of large books which were originally filled with blank pages but which are now filled with pasted clippings on "Fisheries" and "Immigration" and one thing and another, mingled again with drawers containing all sorts of card lists of all sorts of classified persons, and rounded off finally with addressograph machinery and heaps of envelopes about to be dispatched apparently to everybody in the Sixth Massachusetts Congressional District.

A "political department store" is Mr. Hard's characterization of Congressman Gardner's office, where the diverse wants of a varied constituency are conscientiously catered to. And this conscientiousness extends to the signing by his personal pen of some hundred letters a day, for while he does not dictate every letter he insists on seeing that it is right and affixing his signature to it himself.

And while he sits in his office busily engaged in this daily grind, we see:

A tight-coopered barrel of a man, rounded but hard-beaten, deep through the chest and thick through the fists, with a complexion total gules, which is polite heraldic language for red all over. His nose is long and thoroughly fortified, up and down, with the cartilage one needs in resisting the insubordinations of a bucko mate. His eye is blue—a weather blue—with the puckers about it that tell of sun and wind. His lips—there we perhaps begin to see several generations of comfort—are full. They are the lips of a man who has lived in the midst of civilization, amply. But they are also extraordinarily firm-pressed—the lips of a man who has met even civilization combatively. And his chin is massive, with creases in it, commanding ones.

Gardner may be the possessor of inherited wealth, brought up amid the refinements of New England culture, but he can take care of himself on "the trails and rivers of the great woods as ably as any of his pioneer ancestors." In the Spanish-American War Mr. Gardner served as captain and assistant adjutant-general on the staff of Gen. James H. Wilson. Physically sturdy, he is also mentally keen, and bold and ready in debate. These qualities have been amply demonstrated in his battle for the preparedness of our army and navy, a fight which has won for Gardner national prominence. And he fights with facts and sticks to his guns, especially that 16-inch gun on Sandy Hook, destined for Panama, for which nobody had ever built a carriage.

Why wasn't that carriage built? Why? Facts and questions. Facts and questions. Thousands of them. Indexes to them. Manuals carrying them in extract to debating societies in Massachusetts and Alabama and Oregon. Toil. More toil. And never a despair. And never a heroism.

But occasionally a laugh results from his preparedness researches. As, for instance, when Gardner discovered and told the public the meaning of a battleship "in ordinary" and a battleship "in reserve." "In ordinary," he said, is "scrap-heap common" and "in reserve" is "scrap-heap preferred."

To sum up, says Mr. Hard:

Augustus Peabody Gardner, a hard-headed, hard-hitting man, whose principal occupation is daring the electorate of the Sixth Massachusetts to catch him napping and fire him, but whose mere self-respect and native courage are constantly getting him into fights, whereupon he fires all guns—12-inch and spit—till the decks are awash and would rather go down to the strains of "This Is the End of a Perfect Day" than "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" for fear somebody might think Augustus Peabody Gardner was thinking himself noble about it.



HON. A. P. GARDNER OF MASSACHUSETTS

BOHEMIA'S FUTURE

THE reply of the Entente Allies to President Wilson's note referred to the liberation of Czecho-Slovaks from foreign domination. This reference seems to have caused some surprise in England and possibly also in the United States; but if we may accept a statement made by the *New Europe*, a magazine published in London, France, which has been keenly interested in and sympathized with the Czech national cause ever since the days when a Bohemian King fell at Crecy, was already prepared for such a declaration.

The *Temps* (Paris), of January 2, contains an editorial article on "Bohemia and the Entente." After remarking that it is a mistake to pass over the sufferings of Bohemia in silence, the writer says:

Little is said of Bohemia, because everyone is agreed upon her rights and her hopes; because in each of the Allied countries it is considered that victory will restore independence to that vigorous nation which, under the German heel, has given such fine proofs of vitality, alike in the economic and the intellectual sphere. There are so many disputed points which cry out for comment, that those which are a matter of course

are neglected. This is a mistake, for Germany neglects nothing.

The writer then discusses the repressive régime established in Bohemia during the war and the tendency of the new Austrian premier to tempt the Czechs into submission to the House of Hapsburg by promising milder government and holding out a vague prospect of concessions similar to those promised to Poland, this French editor declares that it is not enough to urge the Czechs to stand firm on the difficult and isolated path that they have chosen. "It is also necessary that in their sore trial we should bring them the succor of a definite statement; we must tell them before the world what we think, and since we are resolved to make Bohemia free we must leave our resolution half unsaid. In a word, we must have the courage of our friendships and of our ideas, and to this people which is suffering, and whom others are trying to dupe by exploiting its sufferings, we must cry from afar: "Wait for us, we are coming; don't weaken!" That this article should have received prominence in a

representative French newspaper on the very eve of the publication of the note to President Wilson is regarded by the *New Europe* as highly significant.

A correspondent in Iowa, who has brought these comments to our attention, laments the fact that in this country the geographical, educational, industrial, and political conditions of Bohemia, which is known as the granary of Austria-Hungary, and

which from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries was a nucleus of European culture and science, are almost unknown. While the Bohemian people are taxed, he says, to the very limit of existence, and many of their best men and women persecuted, imprisoned, or sentenced to death without conviction, it is seldom that a voice is raised in their behalf or accurate information given as to their present situation.

RECUPERATION AFTER WAR

A PROTEST against the abandonment of the traditional ideals of the non-Teutonic peoples is voiced by Signor Giuseppe Prato in *La Riforma Sociale*. While freely admitting the wonderful results attained by German science and organization, he believes that the lessons learned in the stern school of experience can best be applied, when war has ceased, by preserving the pliancy and the spirit of independent initiative that distinguish the Latins, Slavs and Anglo-Saxons.

The writer finds, however, that one of the dominant ideas evoked by the many searchings of conscience to which the leading thinkers of the Anglo-Saxon and Latin worlds have been led by the great crisis, is the obligation to give to the post-bellum social life a more positively scientific content, fully aware as they are of the valuable elements of well-being, expansion, and resistance that the Teutonic foes have been able to draw from a thoroughly intelligent and effective training and a scientific utilization of all human faculties.

If this is eminently true of the technological branches, in whose progress the growing mastery of man over nature is affirmed, it is even more true of that department of knowledge which has for its field the study of the factors and incentives whence the multiple mechanical applications of science derive their influence, direction and vigor.

Nevertheless, Signor Prato urges that this adoption of what has been proved excellent in the Teutonic world must be held in restraint. With the imitative instinct of the crowd, and not only of the illiterate crowd, in regard to whatever seems to be an example of triumphant material power, or of tangible success, such a depth of quite unconscious servility was reached that the social progress of the nations was measured

by their grade of approximation to the revered model.

To what a dangerous degree the humble renunciation of the best native traditions had been carried by the predestined victims may be inferred from the fact, easily observable to-day in Italy and elsewhere, that the very persons who most acrimoniously protest against the pretended intellectual supremacy of Germany, and would wish to have the very name of German science erased from our schools and from our studies, the promoters of anti-German leagues, whose exaltation finds expression at a safe distance from the front, all those who favor a policy of commercial non-intercourse against Germany render homage, in the plans they advocate, to the very superiority they take so much pains to deny.

In comparison with such dreams of tariff barriers, of tyrannical social laws, the autocratic and aggressive ideal of German capitalism seems a monument of good sense, if we except some exaggerations born of the present state of war.

In conclusion, Signor Prato declares that now, just as immediately after the Napoleonic wars, the recuperation of Europe must be sought in an economic policy emancipated from all prejudices and from all hindrances, one capable of extracting from the resources and energies that remain the greatest possible results.

This is the precise antithesis of the programs thought out at Paris Conferences or elaborated in war legislation. For no country will this be more true than for Italy, where the only prompt remedy for the exhaustion of her already scant wealth is to be found in the fullest utilization of her man-power, the one great treasure that will still be left her, one that is, however, the primordial element of all economic progress.

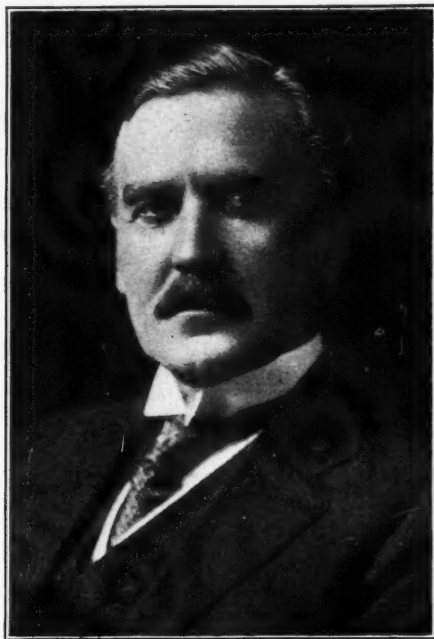
CANADA'S WAR MINISTER OF FINANCE

PRIOR to the "reciprocity" campaign of 1911 the present Canadian Minister of Finance, Sir Thomas White, had been identified with the Liberal party. Joining the Conservatives on the reciprocity issue he attracted the notice of Sir Robert Borden, who gave him the treasury portfolio as in some sort a recognition of the Liberals who had bolted from their party. Sir Thomas White has now held this portfolio for more than five years—the latter half of that period full of the administrative perplexities and burdens incident to the war.

In the *Canadian Magazine* (Toronto) for February a brief sketch of Dominion war finance and of Sir Thomas White's relation thereto is contributed by William Lewis Edmonds. It appears that when the war broke out the Finance Minister was faced by serious domestic problems, the solution of which demanded his utmost endeavors. Although great public expenditures had been undertaken the government's revenue was declining at a rapid rate. At the special session of Parliament immediately after the declaration of war increased duties were imposed on various commodities for the purpose of producing revenue, and with a similar object in view excise rates were increased. Parliament also provided for an increase in the amount of Dominion notes which might be issued against gold; for temporarily suspending the gold basis of circulation in order to make notes legal tender, and for a war credit of \$50,000,000.

These measures, however, proved insufficient, and in 1915 it was necessary for the Minister of Finance to introduce others, chief of which was an increase of from 5 to 7½ per cent. in customs duties. So great was the revenue produced by this bill that in his last budget speech Sir Thomas White reported an increase of no less than \$19,000,000 in the national revenues. For the present fiscal year it is estimated that revenue will exceed expenditure by \$50,000,000.

Equally successful have been the government's efforts to raise money through loans. In order to relieve the pressure upon the British money market Sir Thomas White borrowed \$45,000,000 in New York in August, 1915—the first time that a Canadian Finance Minister had ever called on the American metropolis for funds. He paid 5



SIR THOMAS WHITE, CANADIAN MINISTER OF FINANCE

per cent. and this rate was regarded as high, but a few months later Great Britain and the Allies had to pay the same rate for the half-billion dollar loan that was floated in the same market. During the eleven months ended in November, 1916, Canada was able to borrow nearly \$304,000,000, of which nearly \$193,000,000 was obtained in the United States.

Sir Thomas White's domestic loans are regarded as even more successful than those that he negotiated in New York. He first asked the people of Canada to subscribe \$50,000,000 and that subscription was more than doubled. At the beginning of the war Canada had an adverse trade balance of \$180,000,000. At the close of the fiscal year 1916 the balance was in Canada's favor to the extent of \$249,000,000. Mr. Edmonds explains that if Canada had attempted to borrow large sums at home when the trade balance was so enormously against her it might have been necessary to ship gold out of the country. By waiting to float a domestic loan until a favorable trade balance had been brought about, this con-

tingency was prevented, so that to-day Canada holds more gold than she did at the beginning of the war and has been able to float a second domestic loan of \$100,000,000.

Not only has Canada provided for her own necessities, but she has assisted in establishing a line of credit to facilitate the

financing of orders placed in Canada by Great Britain and her Allies. This line of credit now amounts to \$250,000,000.

Sir Thomas is described as a man not moved by impulses, but rather as cool, calculating, and like the man from Missouri in his desire to be "shown."

PROTECTION OF STEAMSHIPS AGAINST SUBMARINES

ADMIRAL DEGOUY, who is the Mahan of modern France, contributes to the *Revue des Deux Mondes* another of his able articles on the naval problems of the war—this time on the vital subject of the measures which can be taken to protect liners, and steamships carrying war supplies or troops, against submarine attack. Admiral Degouy proceeds on the wise plan of seeking no general solutions; of studying each separate case and judging it on its merits. He begins with attacks like that against the *Sussex*, in the Straits of Dover, and, after detailing the secondary means of defense,

reaches the basic conclusion that what is really needed, what will really be effective, is: The destruction of the German submarine base at Zeebrugge, near Ostend, on the Belgian coast.

He next considers the torpedoing of munition ships near Archangel, in the Arctic; the proper defense here, he says, is a combination of armament for the munition ships and the use of convoys, not over the whole course between Scotland and the North Cape, but at both ends, as in the case of the successful attack, by Russian torpedo boats coming from Archangelsk, on German submarines operating in the Varanger Fjord.

Admiral Degouy then considers the mid-Atlantic, and here it will be well to quote:

In this vast field of activity, which, a year ago, appeared sealed even to the largest German submersibles, there have appeared (perhaps we may say, have established themselves) the newest types of submarines from the German yards (the *Schichau*, *Vulkan*, and *Germania*, the last a product of the Krupp works); this can no longer be questioned, since the appearance of the *Deutschland* and the *U-53* on the littoral of the United States. Further, Washington has notified the Mexican Government of the presence of German submarines in the Caribbean Sea. These submarines have as their special mission to cut off the English from their communications with the oil centers in Mexico and Texas. And the New York *Herald*, well informed on these questions, adds that the tank ships which, up to the present, have not been molested in the Atlantic, will be ambushed as they leave the ports of the Gulf of Mexico.

This is not all. According to telegrams from Portugal, Spain, Tarifa, Ceuta, in the second half of November, there is a regular cruising fleet of submarines perfectly organized between Tres Forcas in Morocco and Cape Finisterre, which pass through the Straits of Gibraltar, in spite of the incessant vigilance of the Allies, and particularly the English. Tres Forcas is the promontory which terminates the long peninsula on which Melilla stands; at Tres Forcas there are veritable nests of the Barbary pirates, of which the new German pirates make admirable use. Among

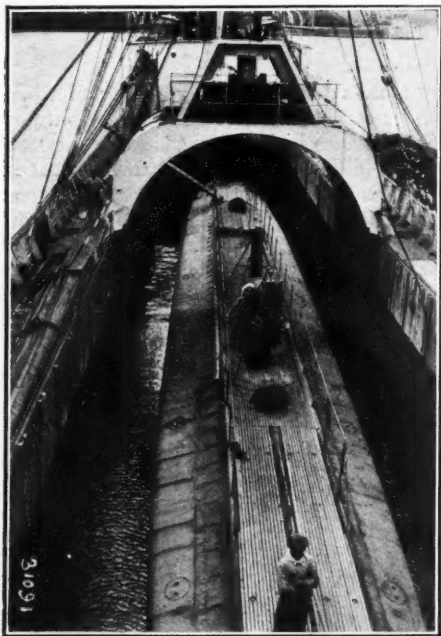


Photo from Kadie & Herbert

THE SUBMARINE TRANSPORT "KANGAROO"
TORPEDOED AT FUNCHAL

(She was built to transport submarines. When torpedoed was on a trip to the south of Africa from France.)

other pirates are mentioned the *U-49* and *U-50*, which have already sunk several English, Italian, and Greek ships. Perhaps these are the units which destroyed the *Surprise* and bombarded Funchal in Madeira. This cruising fleet pushes its activities as far as the coast of Gascony and, in the Mediterranean, joins hands with the submarines of Germany and Austria based on Cattaro and Pola. Further, the coasts of Ireland and the banks to the west of the English Channel are frequently the scene of the exploits of submarines charged with the work of intercepting ships coming from America.

On the other hand, there have so far been no cases of ships torpedoed in mid-Atlantic. The great diversity of courses that may be taken would singularly complicate the problem, even for the largest submarines, even operating on the surface. We have not yet encountered the "submarine cruiser"; but let us not be too sure it is not already in gestation, in the German shipyards. We have already had many surprises, and last December there were rumors of a 5000-ton submarine.

It would appear, then, that in the case of steamships sailing from North America for a British or French port, the method of protection should be simple enough, being simply a question of convoying, at either end of the line. Yet there are many difficulties. . . . The submarine can wait at the three-mile limit. If it did not submerge, we can be pretty sure that it would be seen oftener inside than outside the line. The same thing cannot be true of the Allied cruisers.

The Washington Cabinet very clearly expressed the wish that these cruisers should remain at a considerable distance from the shores of the great republic, which is, it seems, decidedly ticklish. Cruisers are visible at a great distance, while submarines are not. Therefore, they have free elbow-room to destroy, and will know how to use it. Further, the submarines, waylaying the Gulf oil-tank ships, will find ample supplies of fuel, while the Allied cruisers supplying them have to coal at Bermuda or Jamaica.

Admiral Degouty, after considering all secondary means, turns at last to more radical measures:

I may say, or rather I may repeat, what I said fully two years ago, that we shall never succeed in wresting from Germany her incontestable mastery of the depths of the sea—as contrasted with mastery of the surface—until we attack methodically and in succession, with all the appropriate means of action, her submarine bases, whether to destroy them, or to seal their outlets hermetically. I know that certain persons have taken great pains to persuade the public that this is impossible; that the coasts of Germany can never be attacked; cannot even be approached. But I hope that my readers will rather believe the word of an old sailor, an officer who, for thirty years, has studied the questions which others are now approaching for the first time; an officer who has had practical experience in work on the German coasts.

WOMEN IN BRITISH INDUSTRY

NO single development of the changed social and industrial conditions due to the war has aroused more interest in Great Britain than the extensive employment of women in various capacities where male labor was once exclusive. In the munition plants especially, so efficient have these women workers proved that their efforts have received universal and well-merited recognition as of distinct and direct military value. Indeed, personal efficiency and industrial organization have been secured to an extraordinary degree, and the *Engineer* (London) in a recent issue refers to this development as one of the most interesting technical features of the year 1916.

In the great national projectile factories there are thousands of women and girls at work on shells, taking them from the rough, forged state to the khaki-colored finished article. In a typical factory of 6000 women the plain shell turners wear khaki caps along with their khaki overalls. Those that have gained some degree of proficiency at bench work have a distinctive cap of blue, and a number qualified to take down and set up a

lathe like an ordinary fitter wear red caps. The blue-capped girls are inspectors of the work done by their khaki-clad sisters. Each department of the factory is distinguished by a color, and by an appropriate colored badge the place of each operative could be determined at a glance.

With these women employees welfare work has been developed to an extraordinary degree, and many old-time works managers have wondered at the greater labor efficiency accompanying brighter, happier, and healthier working conditions and housing, or lodging where it is provided. Likewise as regards wages, the Ministry for Munitions made definite provisions for fixed bases of pay so that the labor of the women could not be exploited. Women are earning from 30 shillings to £3 per week, and in the case of wives or widows of soldiers this often enables the home to be maintained comfortably.

Not only is the labor good, but the spirit is excellent, and even the serious accidents, of which there have been some, not to mention many minor casualties, have not served to daunt these energetic women. In some



Photograph by the American Press Association

SCOTCH MUNITION WORKERS

departments, such as shell-filling, the work is distinctly dangerous. That this is recognized is shown in a special order from Sir Douglas Haig to the army, in which attention was called to an incident illustrative "of the spirit animating British women who are working with us for the common cause. One night, recently, a shell burst in a shop at a filling factory in which the great majority of workers are women. In spite of the explosion work was carried on without interruption. Though several were killed, and others seriously wounded, the remainder displayed perfect coolness and discipline in dealing with the emergency. As a result of their gallant and patriotic conduct, the output of munitions was not seriously affected."

But outside of shell-making there have been found ample opportunities for women. In June last the government stated that there were available a reserve of about 1,750,000 women—mostly married—who had had experience in various industries. In the next month announcement was made of the establishment of engineering works on the

West Coast of Scotland where all the employees were to be women, positions being open only to well-educated women between the ages of twenty and thirty-five, with mechanical inclinations, preferably the widows and daughters of officers in the army and navy. This factory at first was to manufacture parts of aeroplane engines and later complete motors. These works are now about completed.

At the end of September women crane drivers appeared in Sheffield, clad in special apparel, and later in the year training centers for women munitions workers were opened at Bradford, Derby, Grimsby, Leeds, and Nottingham.

The foregoing examples are all of interest, since they represent the entrance of women into callings and work for which their availability had hardly as much as been suggested previously. There is now established a series of conditions whose adjustment at the end of the war presents some of the most interesting of the social problems to be solved when peace comes.

STATE PURCHASE AS A SOLUTION OF ENGLAND'S LIQUOR PROBLEM

SOME indication of the recent rapid and radical change in British public opinion on the control of the liquor traffic is afforded by the fact that so venerable and conservative a journal as the London *Spectator* has committed itself definitely to a policy of state purchase of the entire liquor interests of Great Britain as an alternative of absolute prohibition of the traffic. The two objects sought by the *Spectator* are: (1) Prohibition for the war; (2) The elimination of private profit from the manufacture and sale of intoxicants after the war. As an instrument for obtaining both of these objects the *Spectator* advocates immediate state purchase on just terms.

It is admitted that the country has not yet been educated to the acceptance of direct prohibition, but it is clear to the *Spectator*, from its reading of the newspapers and other indications of public opinion, that the British people can have state purchase if they will press for it, and state purchase will eventually give prohibition for the war. The *Spectator* puts the matter in this way: "We want to open a locked door in order that the nation may escape from the suffocating and poisonous atmosphere into the fresh air and gain strength to attack and resist its enemies. By state purchase we obtain the key and put it into the lock, though at the moment we do not obtain an order to turn it."

In other words, the *Spectator* now recommends that the door be made ready to be opened, confident that when this has been done the present clamor against using the key will die down. "To return to our metaphor—till we have got purchase, there is little chance of opening the door. When we have got it, instead of a wild and dangerous struggle to force open the door, we shall have the power to carry out our policy quietly and efficiently. All that will be necessary to be done will be to persuade the British people to use the key." Even if all the advantages of complete prohibition during the war cannot be obtained by this method it seems certain that a large part of them can be had.

The probable course of the government after purchase is outlined thus: Since the country is faced with the risk of food shortage and the government has already declared

that the strictest economy must be exercised in all materials that can be used for feeding human beings, the logic of the situation would require that all consumption of food-stuffs in the national breweries should cease. In regard to the distilleries the government would probably take the ground that as alcohol is necessary for the manufacture of explosives, the distilleries must continue to make alcohol, but only for ammunition purposes. For all other purposes, its manufacture must cease. Furthermore, there would be an insistent demand that the men employed in the breweries and distilleries be released for other duties, both civil and military.

The *Spectator* makes it clear, however, that its agitation for prohibition is given up only on condition that purchase is immediately applied. If there is hesitation and delay, it insists that the demand for prohibition must be maintained and developed. It admits that such a measure as state purchase could not in all probability be brought about except in war time and under the pressure of a great national peril. This, it says, is a case of "now or never." From the standpoint even of those who are now engaged in the traffic the argument for immediate action is equally strong. The producers



INDIA REJOICES IN THE POSSIBILITY OF ENGLAND'S PROHIBITION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC

WHISKY: "O Lor! They are going to drive me out from my hearth and home, Mr. Punch!"

MR. HINDI PUNCH: "Farewell! That is one of the blessings of the war—which I would wish for my Indian's hearth and home as well."

• From *Hindi Punch* (Bombay)

and retailers have an opportunity of getting out of a doomed business on just and reasonable terms. "Let the principle of purchase involve the principle that acquisition by the state shall not, as far as possible, mean the financial ruin of any individual. The nation must shoulder its own burdens, not lay them on the backs of others."

The *London Times* calls upon those who are interested in the liquor traffic to recognize the signs and be prepared to accept the inevitable. "It touches the conduct of the war in two respects. One is the food supply, and the other the efficiency of our war industries. Both are of such supreme importance that no regard for sectional interests can be allowed to stand in the way of any measures that may be called for to strengthen the national effort."

The *London Daily Chronicle* gives the following figures as showing approximately the capital value of the liquor trade:

Estimated capital value of the trade.	£300,000,000
[£1,500,000,000]	
Estimated number of individuals engaged in and dependent on the trade	1,500,000
Annual value of hotels, public houses, etc.	£8,237,667
Number of retail on-licenses.	115,908

Number of retail off-licenses.	50,164
Number of wholesale licenses.	25,147

In the spring of 1915 a report was made by a committee appointed to advise the government on the financial arrangements that would have to be made if it were decided to buy the properties of the breweries in England and Wales, to control the branches of the liquor traffic not so purchased, and to prohibit temporarily the retail trade in spirits while permitting the continuance of the sale of beer below a certain alcoholic strength. The principal suggestions in the report were these:

Appointment of commissioners to determine values and carry out the purchase, and an authority to conduct trade on behalf of the state.

Government security to be given in exchange, to consist of 4 per cent stock, taken at par. Proposals to safeguard interests of government and holders in special war circumstances.

Public houses, beer houses and off-licenses not belonging to brewery companies to be bought on the basis of profits actually earned. If owner is engaged in its conduct a deduction to be made in respect of value of his services. Employment to be found for him in connection with the trade, or compensation for loss of livelihood.

Compensation to be paid to officials and employees deprived of employment, and allowance in lieu of rates to be paid to local authorities.

THE LATE LORD CROMER'S REFLECTIONS ON THE WAR

IT was to an American magazine, the *Yale Review*, that Lord Cromer contributed one of the last of his writings. In the current number of that periodical his article appears under the title, "Reflections on the War." It is chiefly an inquiry into the test of democracy that has been presented by the war, and the way in which that test has been met by the British democracy. Lord Cromer does not hesitate to admit that when brought to the test the democratic system of government has been found to have many and grave defects. These defects, however, have been more than balanced, in his opinion, by its merits. He feels that in the hour of trial absolutism will have proved itself a failure and democracy a success.

In everything connected with initial organization, preparedness, continuity of purpose, foresight, national discipline, and the adaptation of means to an end, the British democracy has indeed cut a sorry figure. Previous to the war, says Lord Cromer, the

history of the past had been forgotten, while the symptoms of the present were ignored. "A well-intentioned but greedy idealism was permitted to run riot unchecked by practical considerations. The moral was allowed to take care of the things of itself." This reads more like an ante-war characterization of France than of England, but it comes from an Englishman whose authority will not be gainsaid. He regards Britain's present sufferings in the war as in some sense a penalty imposed for her past sins of omission.

Lord Cromer's general indictment of British administration makes one specific exception—that of her conduct on the sea. The naval forces of the crown, he says, were well organized and thoroughly efficient. "In spite of every effort on the part of the highly skilled and very formidable foe, British maritime supremacy has been fully maintained. The German flag was speedily swept from the sea. The great Jutland battle, although owing to the accidents of weather and other

adventitious causes incidental to war, it was not so decisive a British victory as it otherwise would have been, was nevertheless a serious defeat for Germany."

As compared with the defects of absolutism those of democracy seem trifling indeed, for, while Canadians, Australians, and New Zealanders have been shedding their blood like water to preserve the British Empire, the powerful machine built up by German absolutism since the days of Bismarck

has already failed of its purpose. "In only two countries has German diplomacy scored any success—Bulgaria, under the guidance of an alien ruler, has been duped into permitting one of the most ignoble acts of political ingratitude recorded in history. Greece has so far been false to her proud traditions of freedom, and has allowed her action to be dictated by a Prussianized ruler who has broken his plighted faith to Serbia and has trampled constitutionalism under foot."

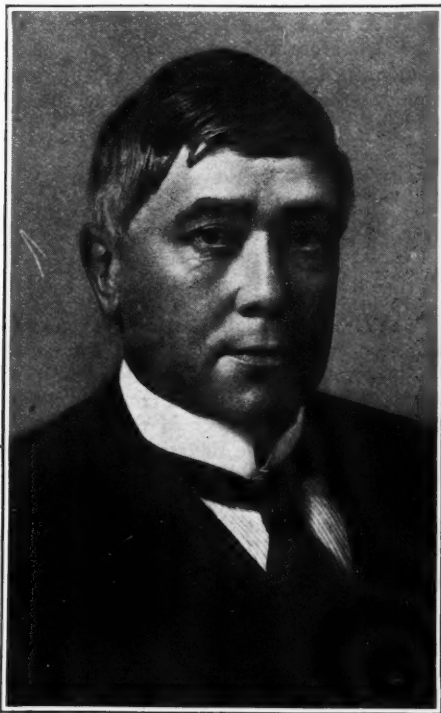
MAETERLINCK'S "END OF THE WAR" AND OTHER PAPERS

THE great Belgian, whose American audience is so wide and so responsive, has from time to time during the war published an essay bearing on some phase of it. From one of these, "Heroism," we quoted at some length in these pages several months ago. One of the latest, entitled, "The End of the War," appeared in a recent number of *Les Annales*. From this we make certain interesting extracts, omitting the bitter objections with which it begins:

But on the other hand it is not less certain that the enemy has shown virtues which it would be unworthy on our part to deny; for one honors himself in recognizing the valor of those with whom he fights. He has gone to death in deep, compact, disciplined masses with a blind, stubborn, hopeless heroism of which we have never before had so somber an example, and which again and again has forced our admiration and our pity.

I know well that this heroism is not like that which we admire. For us heroism must before all be quite voluntary, freed from all constraint, active, ardent, joyous, spontaneous; instead of being mingled with much of servility, of passivity, of sadness, of dull, ignorant, massive submission, and with rather base fears, as with them. It is none the less true that in the moment of peril there remains but little of all these distinctions, and that no power in the world would be able to urge towards death a race which did not bear within itself the strength to confront death.

Our soldiers have made no mistake on this point. Question those who return from the trenches. They execrate the enemy, they have a horror of the aggressor, unjust, arrogant, coarse, and too often cruel and perfidious. But they do not hate the man; him they have pitied, and after the battle have recognized with astonishment in the disarmed prisoner, or the defenseless wounded, a brother in wretchedness who obeys, as do they, duties and laws which, in his belief also, are lofty and necessary. Under the guise of the insupportable enemy he perceives the unhappy man who in like measure bears the burden of life.



MAURICE MAETERLINCK, THE BELGIAN-FRENCH
DRAMATIST AND POET

Putting aside the unpardonable aggression and the inexpiable violation of treaties, this war, despite its madness, comes near to bearing bloody but magnificent witness to grandeur, heroism, and the spirit of sacrifice. Humanity was near to rising above itself and surpassing all that it has hitherto accomplished. In truth, it has so surpassed it. Never had there been known peoples who were capable for months, and indeed for years, of renouncing their repose, their security,

their riches, their comfort, all that they possessed and loved, their very life itself, to accomplish that which they conceived to be their duty. Never had there been seen peoples who in their entirety were at one in comprehending and confessing that the happiness of each of those living at the moment of trial counted not in the balance when weighed against the honor of those who no longer live, or the happiness of those who have yet to live. We stand here on heights which had not hitherto been attained.

The remainder of the essay is a severe arraignment of the German people, as either weak enough to be misled by selfish leaders, or themselves guilty of urging their leaders to the excesses of which the writer accuses them. We note that the essay in question appears in a new book which has just come to hand, "The Wrack of the Storm" (Dodd, Mead & Co.), comprising the occasional essays referred to above, together with a reprint of "The Massacre of the Innocents," which Maeterlinck himself considers as in some sort prophetic, though first published some twenty years ago.

Among the twenty-five essays some are of a patriotic nature, such as the "King Albert," "Belgium's Flag Day," and the three bearing the common title "Pro Patria." The most interesting, and those freest from harsh accusations, are those dealing with death in the beautiful and mystical manner with which Maeterlinck's admirers are familiar. Some of these are: "The Dead Do Not Die," "On Rereading Thucydides," "In Memoriam," "The Life of the Dead," "The Might of the Dead."

Of peculiar interest are the mystical and symbolic essays, "The Hour of Destiny" and "The Will of Earth." The title of the latter is explained to mean the will shown by nature to make brute force regnant—the supreme arbiter of events. "The Will of Humanity," on the contrary, is the will of the spirit, which endeavors to find a higher law in love, honor, justice, and compassion. The poet fixes an inspired gaze on a future when the Will of Earth shall suffer defeat in its application to the destinies of mankind.

A FRENCH VIEW OF GERMANY AND THE WAR

DIVINATION of the German character seems to hold an unflinching interest in the present world upheaval—notably so when the reflections proceed from a superior mind. In a late number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Emile Boutroux, the eminent French philosopher, discusses at length that vexed problem. He speaks of the obsession of the Germans that their country is the salt of the earth, that all benefits obtained by her rebound as a blessing upon the entire universe. Dominated by Germany, the nations of the earth will enjoy the true blessings which they cannot gain by themselves. Her task may be summed up in brief: to re-create the world by infusing it with the German spirit. It is a fundamental axiom in Germany that the Germans need learn nothing from foreigners. The Prussian state, supreme realization of the Divine, owes obligation to itself alone—that is to say, it is her duty, as regards other nations, to admit only the law of force, and by any and all means steadily to increase her strength.

The Germans, M. Boutroux continues, have killed everything in themselves that men term sincerity—that is, the honest effort to

act, speak, and think the truth. Everything with them is means, stratagem, method, politics, leading to the realization of their ambitions.

We quote the concluding section of the article, as being of particular interest:

Is it possible, it will be asked, that ideas so singular should have a practical value; and if a philosophy nourished by such ideas does actually govern the minds, not of some eccentric spirits, but of the German people as a whole, can we regard the phenomenon otherwise than as a case of collective, not individual, madness—a manifestation extremely interesting to the psychologist and physician, to be sure, but powerless to exercise a real influence upon the destinies of humanity?

Germany to-day—and along with her a great part of Austria-Hungary—is profoundly penetrated by the manner of thinking, judging, willing, feeling, inculcated in her by the Prussian domination. To expect to lead her back to the intellectual and moral plane which she occupied before she had succumbed to that influence is a dream. It were vain to deny the native power of recuperation and concentration of a country for whom the years 1648 and 1806 formed a recoil leading to a new outburst. And the power of German pedagogical methods is sufficiently demonstrated by the intimate intellectual and moral resemblance which to-day characterizes the

inhabitants, of such varying origins and traditions, of so many places. How many famous German cities of consequence, whose names, more or less disguised, are of Slav, or Latin, or Celtic origin! If, in certain instances, that origin has left its traces, or even if it expresses itself in a vigorous resistance to Germanization, in many others the German impress is remarkably deep.

On the morrow of the war, as on its eve, this immanent type of intelligence and will, which, like a sort of common soul, has created Germanism, will subsist. Germany will only change, if it is going to change at all, by a moral and inner revolution. Who can tell whether such a revolution will take place?

As to our duty, we must take into consideration the mortal danger which would threaten us if, regarding this war simply as a nightmare, frightful, of course, but transitory, we should imagine that, peace once signed, we could resume our life at the point where we left it in July, 1914.

We have been duly warned. The threats of the German Emperor, of General Bernhardt, of the official interpreters of German ideas were not empty words. Germany makes the domination of the universe, and particularly the mutilation and subjection of France, a condition of its existence. *Weltherrschaft oder Niedergang*, "universal hegemony or decadence"—that is her motto. Germany, for that matter, has long and above all believed in the omnipotence of the idea to create a fact, of the will and organization to produce a moral force, union, enthusiasm,

and perseverance, as well as material strength. It is not the amount of visible strength remaining to her after the war that will constitute a measure of the perils to which she may still be able to expose humanity, it is the persistence of her will of domination, of aggrandizement and oppression. Latent, invisible, dissembled, denied, that will, if we judge the future by the past, will subsist. And what does a treaty of peace signify? What are German pledges? German sincerity consists in a conscientious employment of the means best fitted to deceive others for the benefit of Germany.

We cannot fail to comprehend, henceforth, that to preach disarmament means a willingness to be delivered over to Germany, and that pacifism signifies, in reality, consent to the Germanization of the universe. It was not by accident that the Nobel prize was promised to William II in 1914.

But if it is our first duty to preserve the France which our fathers have bequeathed to us, and make her prosperous, the present war will have the effect of causing us to put in their right place—an inferior and insignificant one, it may be—many differences of opinion to which we have at times attached a vital importance. One can live without imposing one's beliefs, one's opinions, one's habits upon others, and without assuming to dominate or oppress them. But what would human life signify should we lop off its traditions, variety, freedom, poesy, fidelity, justice, and humanity?

Now, to-morrow as to-day we must, if we want to possess those supreme blessings, reconquer them with every passing day.

THE NEEDS OF MEXICO

A SURVEY of Mexico's natural resources and conditions, from the pen of the Hon. John Barrett, Director-General of the Pan-American Union, appears in the current number of the *Yale Review* and also in the January *Bulletin* of the Pan-American Union.

Despairing of making a distinct impression upon his readers by the mere statement that Mexico comprises within her natural boundaries 766,000 square miles, Mr. Barrett resorts to comparisons with the areas of better-known political divisions. Thus, all that part of the United States which extends from the Gulf of Mexico and the Canadian line east of the Mississippi River to the Atlantic Coast is equaled by Mexico, if only Wisconsin and Illinois are omitted. The "solid South," with only Kentucky and West Virginia left out, could all be included in Mexico. Turning to European countries, Mexico could take all of the German Empire, all of the French and Swiss republics, and the kingdoms of Spain, Italy, Belgium, and Holland. Among the twenty-one Amer-

ican republics, Mexico ranks fourth in area, or after the United States, Brazil and Argentina, and ahead of Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela, and Chile.

After considering Mexico's mineral, coal, timber, and agricultural wealth, and her general economic situation, Mr. Barrett enumerates what he regards as certain absolute necessities, if Mexico would evolve permanent stability, peace, and prosperity. These are as follows:

(1) The establishment of stable conditions which will have the confidence and support alike of natives and foreigners. No matter how difficult it may be to achieve this end, it is entirely essential before other reforms can be initiated and made permanent.

(2) An enlargement and ramification of the public educational system which will allow all classes of young men and women, boys and girls, in every part of the country to learn to read and write and to enjoy some kind of a practical education that will help them in after life. At the very outset there is special need of agricultural, manual, technical, and normal schools for the rank and file, and an improvement in the professional and educational institutions for more advanced students.

(3) Improved methods of agriculture to be pursued throughout Mexico as they have been undertaken in the United States and other parts of the world. The old methods to which Mexicans have clung so persistently stand in the way of progress and the extension of farming, cultivation of the soil, and the growth of diversified products. Experiment stations must be established in different parts of the Republic to encourage the people in this respect.

(4) Improvement of labor conditions throughout Mexico in both industrial and agricultural activities with a view to the benefit of employer and employee alike. The conditions of sanitation, food supplies, and others are often entirely neglected. Labor, moreover, must be made more skilled, more appreciative of its responsibilities and, in turn, must receive the coöperation and interest of employers.

(5) The establishment of new industries in all parts of Mexico will utilize home products, employ local and foreign capital, and add to the population and progress of the interior cities and towns.

(6) Immigration of the right kind from the United States and Europe to be encouraged by favorable laws. It will be absolutely impossible for the Mexicans, without new and fresh blood, to make the progress to which they aspire and to establish a permanent and powerful government. No nation has ever been able to do this without immigration.

(7) Investment of foreign capital to meet Government loans and to supply the money required for the development of the resources and possi-

bilities of the country. This is so axiomatic and so proved by the history of all countries that it needs no discussion. On the other hand, such capital, if it comes into Mexico, must be just as respectful of the laws of that country as it is of the laws of the United States.

(8) The construction and development of trunk and branch lines of railroads, telegraph and telephone lines, electric roads, and national highways to be undertaken by government and private interests if Mexico would keep abreast of other countries.

(9) Mutual acquaintance between the peoples of Mexico and the United States to be fostered by the inauguration of a new era of travel. The people of the United States should go to Mexico as they now go to California and Florida. In turn, those of Mexico should come to the United States as they have been going to Cuba, Spain, and France. Railway and steamship facilities must be improved accordingly.

(10) The study of the Spanish language and of the history, customs, geography, and resources of Mexico to be taken up by the schools of the United States. There should be an exchange of college professors and students and a development of closer educational ties.

(11) Coöperation between Mexico and the United States to promote the cause of practical Pan-Americanism and to strengthen the solidarity of the American Republics. Mexico and the United States must be sympathetic allies, forever protecting their respective areas and sovereignties and coöperating to preserve peace throughout the Western Hemisphere.

EDUCATION AND CRIME AMONG NEGROES

CERTAIN mistaken deductions from statistics of crime and education in the South are discussed by Judge Gilbert T. Stephenson, of Winston-Salem, N. C., in the *South Atlantic Quarterly* (Durham, N. C.).

In the first place, it appears that the amount of crime for which the negro race is responsible has been considerably exaggerated. For example, if one counts the inmates of the prisons of this country on any given day he finds that the negro race, constituting only one-tenth of the total population, is penalized for nearly one-third of the crime; but if he counts the number of commitments for crime during any given period he finds that the negro race furnishes only about one-fifth, instead of one-third, of the convictions. This difference arises from the fact that the terms of imprisonment of negroes are as a rule longer than those of white people.

There seems some ground for the hope that the tendency toward increase of crim-

inality among negroes has been arrested. Taking the census figures, it seems that between 1870 and 1880 crime among negroes increased 25 per cent.; between 1880 and 1890 it increased 33 per cent.; between 1890 and 1904 there was no absolute increase, but there was a relative increase as compared with the criminality of the white population.

Clearly, those who are sustaining and promoting negro education in the South have a direct and immediate interest in the question, What relation does the negro school sustain to negro crime?

Some years ago it was shown by Dr. Clarence H. Poe, of North Carolina, that a smaller percentage of negroes in prisons could read and write than those in the general population; that out of every hundred negro criminals thirty-nine could read and write and sixty-one could not, while out of every hundred in the general population forty-three could read and fifty-seven could



LEARNING THE SHOEMAKER'S TRADE AT HAMPTON INSTITUTE.
(Of Hampton's 1,300 graduates only four have been imprisoned for crime)

not; and that in Louisiana, Mississippi, and South Carolina literate negroes furnished a smaller percentage of criminals than illiterate negroes.

In pursuing the inquiry into the connection between a common-school education and crime among negroes Judge Stephenson draws a sharp distinction between the mere ability to read and write and the ability to attend to one's ordinary business affairs that results from common-school education. It is difficult to get statistics as to the quantity and quality of negro education, since most police and prison officials stop with the literacy test, but here and there in the South students are finding, according to Judge Stephenson, that the more schooling the negro child gets the less criminal he is.

An official of the Mississippi penitentiary estimated that of the 450 negro convicts under his care about one-half could neither read nor write, and less than 10 per cent. of the other half had anything like a fair education. That is, while fifty out of a hundred could read and write only five out of a hundred had as much as a common-school education. Of one hundred negro prisoners in the Fulton County jail, Atlanta, seventy-five could read and write, fifty had

finished the first grade, not a single one had finished the eighth grade, and only three had ever read a book in their lives. The Prison Commission of Georgia, 1910-11, estimated that, while about one-half of the prison population could read and write, less than one per cent. could be said to be able to do more than to read and write.

As to those negro students who have gone through high school, statistics show a remarkably small percentage of crime. There have been, for example, 200 graduates of the Winston-Salem, N. C., Negro High School. Of these only one has a criminal court-record, while a conservative estimate is that one negro in twenty in the general population of Winston-Salem has a crime record. Upon this basis the negro who goes through the high school has ten times as good a chance to escape crime as the negro in the general population. The Waters Normal Institute, at Winton, N. C., a negro high school, has graduated more than 130 young men and women and not one of this number has been arrested and convicted of any crime whatever.

In the field of higher education the facts are even more remarkable. Atlanta University, for instance, has graduated 800 negro

students and so far as the president of the institution can learn, after careful inquiry, not one of these graduates has ever been arrested or convicted of crime. Fisk University reports only one graduate convicted and placed in the penitentiary and one other dropped from the list of graduates for immoral conduct.

Judge Stephenson raises the interesting question whether there is a connection between the mastery of trades and crime among negroes. He finds that the records of the South as a whole show that 90 per cent. of the colored people in prisons are without knowledge of trades. Trades are now taught in such institutions as the Agricultural and Technical College at Greensboro, N. C., and at Hampton and Tuskegee Institutes. There have been 2000 students in the Greensboro school since its establishment and of this number the authorities have heard of only five who have been convicted of crime, and two of those were expelled students. Among the 300 graduates of the school there has been not a single conviction of crime.

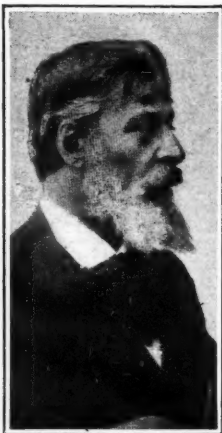
Only four of Hampton's 1300 graduates have been imprisoned for crime. Tuskegee's experience has been similar. From this survey of the facts of the situation in the South, Judge Stephenson concludes:

All the available statistics and the unanimous opinion of men in a position to know the facts would seem to be proof that education—elementary or advanced, industrial or literary—diminishes crime among negroes. The alarmingly high rate of negro criminality is as much a condemnation of the community in which it exists as of the offending negroes themselves. Having discovered that the negro school is, at least, one institution which successfully combats crime, the community cannot afford to withhold its active interest in and generous support of its negro school. The more money spent in making such schools responsive to the special needs of the race, the less will have to be spent on crime. And if it comes to a question of cost, it is cheaper in the long run to maintain and equip schools—negro schools, even—than police departments, courts, jails, penitentiaries, and reformatories; for the school, properly conducted, makes the negro a greater asset, while the court finds him a liability, and nearly always leaves him a greater liability of the community.

A FRENCH ACTOR'S "HAMLET"

IN his reminiscences, now appearing in *Je Sais Tout* (Paris), Mounet-Sully said that before undertaking "Hamlet" he read such vast reams of contradictory criticism that he felt absolutely at sea, too confused to form a coherent and playable conception. Seeing this, one of his friends thus advised him:

Go home. Take one of the best translations of Shakespeare, that of François Victor Hugo, for example. Put your head in your hands and read *Hamlet* from the first line to the last, as if you were totally ignorant of it.



M. MOUNET-SULLY

I followed this advice. I went home. I took the book. And I read it like a child. Then it seemed to me far easier than my disordered imagination had fancied it. . . . Hamlet appeared to me a being born for love and doomed to hatred and contempt. A being good and tender. He adored

his father and his father is dead. He loved his mother desperately and she has remarried a month after the death of his father. And he hates instinctively the man whom his mother has espoused. The specter of his father reveals that the queen was the cause of his death. Then he falls from the clouds into an abyss of mad terror and perplexity. Since he observes that his disturbance is visible and that it may betray him into the utterance of dangerous words, he counterfeits a madman to preserve himself. But by force of simulating madness, he actually borders upon it in moments of great emotion. At one passage of the scene with his mother he is very near to being really mad.

He holds all the world in suspicion. He had two good friends. He surprises a sign made by one which reveals them to him as traitors. He sees Ophelia coming. He feels happy at the sight of her sweet face, his heart expands at the idea of a little tenderness . . . and at the first words she utters he perceives she is interrogating him, and detects Polonius spying upon his responses . . . Hamlet is irresolution.

The famous monologue lays bare his soul . . . poor creature, made for love, encircled and throttled by all human villainies, cruelties, and blacknesses. Hamlet embodies irresolution, and the symbolism of the play is the struggle between irresolution and the will to do that presses forward. While Hamlet hesitates, Fortinbras advances and invades the kingdom. This is what I saw in Hamlet the evening when I read the book as with new eyes.

LABOR AND IMMIGRATION AFTER THE WAR

IN the December, 1915, number of this REVIEW, Mr. Frederic C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration at the Port of New York, discussed certain tendencies that seemed at that time likely to affect labor conditions in the United States after the conclusion of peace. Mr. Lewis R. Freeman, who has spent the past year in England, France, and Italy, has given special attention to the labor situation in those countries, and in the February number of *Industrial Management* (formerly the *Engineering Magazine*), of New York, he states some of the conclusions that he has formed, particularly as to the way in which the economic and social conditions at the end of the war may be expected to affect labor conditions in the United States.

One thing Mr. Freeman, in common with many other observers, regards as inevitable, namely, that labor the world over, but especially in Europe and the United States, will be in a stronger position as regards making and winning accession to its demands than ever before. This, of course, is simply the working out of the law of supply and demand. At the present time the war has created demands far in excess of the normal, but after the war ends there will still be an abnormal demand for labor, partly because many industrial workers will either have been killed or incapacitated, and partly because there will be special need of labor on work of restoration or on work that has been delayed by the war itself.

Mr. Freeman feels convinced that for the most part the conjectures made by Mr. Howe in his REVIEW OF REVIEWS article have been fairly well borne out by later developments. It seems reasonable to expect that the immigration of the able-bodied to America will not "resume its former proportions for many years, if the countries of Europe meet the situation by organizing their finances and administration, to rehabilitate industry and agriculture." The suggestion that there might even be a reversal of the tide, that population may flow from the United States to Europe, seems, however, unlikely to be realized.

Although the munitions factories of Europe pay high wages, the general average of industrial wages has not risen, says Mr. Freeman, to anything approaching that

which obtained in the United States even before the war, to say nothing of that prevailing since. Moreover, the cost of living has increased even more rapidly in Europe than in America, and in his opinion it will hardly decline so much or so rapidly after the war is over.

It appears, too, that the amount of reconstruction work that will be required in Europe has been exaggerated. He has been assured by a member of the Belgian Relief Commission that the total value of the buildings destroyed in Belgium in two years and a half is less than that of the structures destroyed in the two minutes and a half of the San Francisco earthquake and the two days and a half of the fire that followed. There has already been a deflection of business from the ruined cities and the demand for reconstruction will not at once be imperative; possibly it may be extended over many years.

Mr. Freeman does not feel so sure of the soundness of Mr. Howe's contention that "emigration to America and emigration out of America will be controlled by economic conditions in the future as they have been in the past." That assumes that there will be a return after the war to a *status quo ante*—economic, political, social, and industrial. It is safe to say that if only economic factors were to be considered and there were no stiffening of the requirements for entry into America, we might expect an annual influx from Europe greatly exceeding that which had taken place before the war. But on the whole it seems to him unlikely that such a movement will really take place. In his opinion, some of the European nations are very likely to forbid the emigration of workers after the war, just as they have forbidden the emigration of their fighters during the war. The one action is really no more radical than the other, although it is admittedly easier to make a people submit to restrictions of their liberty in war time than it is in peace time. It will certainly be to the interest of every European country to keep its workers at home in order to carry the burden of its war debt.

The general conclusion is that neither emigration nor immigration promises to be an important factor in the American labor situation.

INSURING AGAINST WEATHER

A GREAT deal of money has been spent on various futile schemes for altering the weather for the benefit of mankind. Cannon have been fired and charges of dynamite have been exploded to bring rain upon the parched crops, and sundry expensive forms of artillery and what-not have been devoted to the task of averting hailstorms.

In discouraging all such undertakings, science has too often taken away comfortable delusions without offering anything in their place. In the last number of the *Monthly Weather Review*, however, Mr. W. G. Reed, of the United States Department of Agriculture, points to a means of protecting crops from inclement weather which, while probably no more expensive than the bombardment of the clouds or the erection of "hail-rods," is certainly much more efficacious, viz., weather insurance.

Weather insurance of a kind is by no means unknown. Of course, marine insurance has always included losses from the "perils of the sea" in which the weather hazard is of prime importance, and marine insurance is in a large measure insurance against the possible results of dangerous weather. Window and plate glass insurance also involves the risk of breakage by wind and hail, as well as loss due to the entry of rain through broken windows. Hail insurance is common in parts of Europe and has received considerable attention in the central United States and Canada. As carried on here, it is the insurance of a given piece of land for a definite amount of money, usually \$6 to \$10 per acre west of the Mississippi River, with the possibility of somewhat larger amounts further east. . . . In addition to insurance against damage to crops, hail insurance is also written to cover damage to plate and window glass.

Tornado insurance is common in parts of the United States and Canada, especially in the Middle West. Such insurance generally includes all types of damage done to buildings by violent winds. It is usually written in connection with fire insurance, although in Canada at least one company writes a combined hail and windstorm policy. The rates vary from about half those charged for fire insurance on the same buildings in the Great Plains region to less than a quarter farther east. Tornado insurance has been carried on successfully by mutual companies having State-wide risks, but has not been practicable for companies having only county-wide risks, although fire-insurance companies are in successful operation within the limits of many single counties.

Practically all fire-insurance policies recognize lightning as a probable cause of fire. All these types of weather insurance, however, are based on the fact that these phenomena are relatively so rare that they may be regarded as accidental at any particular locality, although it is recognized that they are more frequent in some places

than in others and the rates vary as has been noted to allow for this difference in frequency. But such variation in rates rests on a rather indefinite mathematical basis. . . . Another kind of weather insurance is that written by the London "Lloyd's." This, however, is much in the nature of race-track bookmaking. The chance of any event whatever happening or not happening can be insured at Lloyd's by anyone who is willing to pay the premium; but because of the fact that the only real security of Lloyd's is its immense resources and the wide distribution of risks over the whole range of insurance and over the whole world as a field the premiums are much higher than they would be if the chances of occurrence were accurately computed. It is customary to insure outdoor events against the occurrence of rain and the premiums are fixed largely on a general knowledge of the frequency of rainy days.

Proceeding from these more or less sporadic undertakings, Mr. Reed would have us develop, especially for the benefit of agriculturists, a comprehensive system of weather insurance, and he marshals plausible arguments (too elaborate to be repeated in this abstract) in behalf of the feasibility of his plan.

That a successful plan for insurance against unfavorable weather has not hitherto been devised is the result of the apparent capriciousness of the weather and also of the fact that weather conditions are generally widespread; e. g., when unusually late spring or early fall frosts occur they are apt to be country wide. This prevents the application of the fire-insurance theory that country-wide distribution of risks will permit the payment of losses, even of great losses like the Baltimore and the San Francisco fires, from the premiums paid in other parts of the country. Furthermore, until recently it has not been possible to analyze climatic data in such a manner as to permit the determination of the risk involved with crops at different times. For example, the manner in which frosts occur is now known, and therefore it is possible to calculate the proper annual charge to be made against a crop to cover the risk of frost damage. In a like manner the frequency with which any unfavorable weather will occur in the long run may be calculated from the Weather Bureau records; but thus far the Bureau has not compiled and made available the data that may be required to form a basis for every kind of weather insurance.

Detailed statistics concerning the probability of frost in spring and fall have now been compiled for all parts of the country, and on the basis of these data the author shows what would have happened if each of the "coöperative" stations of the Weather Bureau in Kansas and Ohio had been in-

sured in 1906 for \$1000 under a ten-year contract, the premium being \$100 a year, and the value of the policy being paid whenever a killing frost occurred in spring on or after a certain date (viz., four days later than the date of 10 per cent. chance of such a frost, as shown by existing records). He reaches the general conclusion that

When such insurance has become well established it will be applicable in a much wider field than the simple distribution of the risk of the individual farmer. For example, the insurance

rate quoted on a farm will give the purchaser information which will assist him in a determination of the just value; the country banker and storekeeper will be able to insure themselves so that the depression resulting from poor crops will not bear too heavily at any one time; and weather insurance in connection with farm loans may well become as general as fire insurance with loans on buildings and goods or life insurance with personal notes. The fact that the weather hazard is coming into the same class as the fire hazard in that it may be offset by a fixed charge makes possible another step in the series of farm-management studies which is developing the business side of farming from a phrase to a reality.

MUSIC IN THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

SEVERAL valuable suggestions are contained in an able and interesting discussion of "Music in the American University," contributed by J. Lawrence Erb, of Urbana, Ill., to the current issue of the *Musical Quarterly* (New York). Whether it is to be only an institution for the dissemination of learning ("cultural"), or whether it is to be also a training school for the preparation of servants of the community, Mr. Erb holds that "no university has a right to offer less than the usual four years' course, which must include Harmony, History of Music, and Esthetics (the two latter as adapted to the needs of the musician), Counterpoint, Canon and Fugue, and Analysis of Form, and every university has the duty to add, if possible, other important items, such as Orchestration, Composition, and more extensive courses in History of Music for the training of competent, *professional* historians of music, teachers of musical history, and critics."

Heretofore, for the most part, music courses in American universities have been offered in a "cut-and-dried fashion." Mr. Erb does not hesitate to point out faults, both in and out of the universities, but his criticism is constructive. He says:

There is no question that one of the greatest weaknesses of the American musical situation at the present time is a lack of intelligent criticism, a lack of constructive listening even among educated people and musicians of a certain class. One hears too often the statement that a certain composition is good because "I like it" and it is bad because "I do not like it." This sort of thing has kept the earnest musician helpless, subject to the whims of people who know nothing about the art, but who are very positive in their opinions. For this same reason, the study of musical appreciation should be begun as far

down in the school system as possible, for we need intelligent listeners even more than we need performers and composers, and we need them in all ranks of society.

Concerning what he believes to be the true function of the musical courses in an American university, he continues:

Since the American university is becoming increasingly a training school—but with its culture features strongly marked—opportunity must be offered for the training in all of its aspects under the supervision of the university faculty. Therefore, except in those few great cities where the private music schools are sufficiently well developed to take care with reasonable success of the practical musical training of students, it must be a part of the work of the university itself to furnish this practical training, and even in the large cities there must be a measure of university supervision.

The reason for this verdict lies in the nature of the musical instruction offered in the studios and schools, with but few exceptions throughout the country. Music-teaching is a disorganized, unstandardized profession—in fact, too often it is a *business* rather than a profession—and at its best it is extreme specialization, while at its worst it is indescribable. Actually it is not *music* teaching at all, except as a by-product, but Piano-teaching, or Voice-culture, or some other technically specialized process with Music simply a means for demonstrating the admirable(!) results of the system (or method). . . . I have no quarrel with this sort of training in its place. The world must have artisans that it may have artists. But it is not the function of the university to create or develop artisans. Hence the university cannot afford to delegate any portion of its educational processes to a utilitarian or commercialized and at all times irresponsible influence. . . . Since Applied Music is a necessary part of the equipment of the music student it is a necessary part of the curriculum of any university offering serious musical courses, and should logically be offered without extra fees, except on the same basis as other laboratory fees.

A most important field for exploitation by the university, the writer calls, for lack of a better term, "Community Music."

Under this head would fall the various and sundry organizations of the student-body and of the community at large. These are now too often without definite connection with or intelligent supervision by the university, though owing their existence entirely to it and regarded to a great extent as representative of its musical taste, culture, and activities. Every university ought to have its Department of Community Music, designed first for service and then for instruction and propaganda, including the various phases of university extension work. Under its beneficent guidance should fall, whether officially or unofficially, all Glee Clubs, Bands, Orchestras, Choral Societies, Choirs, and any other musical organizations of whatever sort. Its function should be the organizing and purveying of musical entertainments of all kinds, not only formal (and formidable), but informal. . . .

There is a vast amount of musical enthusiasm and energy going to seed in our American colleges and universities, just where it could be most easily conserved and used as a tremendous educational influence all over the land where university men and women live. Instead of lamenting because the Glee and Mandolin Clubs are musically so inferior, the wise thing would be to help them find themselves. Instead of bemoaning the fact that students sing nothing but "rag-time," which is often the *only music they know*, it would be well to teach them something better.

Total depravity is no more a characteristic of the college student than of young men and women in the world at large, yet we take pains, through settlement work, free lectures, and recitals, and the like, to reach these latter, and then grumble because the much busier college man does not take the time and trouble to seek out what we painstakingly bring to the door of his brother.

Arguing from the comparatively recent development in popularity of physical training in its *applied form*, known as *athletics*, to-day the overwhelmingly popular thing in all American colleges and universities, Mr. Erb thinks that possibly a little wisdom and foresight, "a little willingness to prescribe for our students what they need and then to help them like what we prescribe," may produce in a generation an enthusiasm for Music in our colleges and universities which will be as universal and overwhelming as now is exhibited through athletics.

In any event, a wider interest in and love for music in the country at large will be vastly accelerated by creating enthusiasm and intelligent appreciation and worthy leadership on the part of those to whom every community looks for its ideals and its leaders—our American aristocracy, if you will—those to whom the state and society have granted the privilege of university or collegiate education.

A NEW GUESS ABOUT "YANKEE DOODLE"

REMARKING that "to the musical antiquary there lies in the tune 'Yankee Doodle' the same mystery and fascination that lurk in the smile of the 'Mona Lisa' of the Louvre," Frank Kidson, writing in the *Musical Quarterly* (New York), proffers a new guess as to its origin, which is at least more plausible than many other attempted solutions of this, perhaps futile, but perennially interesting question. In 1909 the Library of Congress issued a "Report on 'The Star-Spangled Banner,' 'Hail Columbia,' 'America,' and 'Yankee Doodle,'" in which, though he left the origin of "Yankee Doodle" still a mystery, the author succeeded in clearing away a great deal of the rubbish of wild statements and absurd theories which encumbered and blocked the search.

The mystery of the tune carries with it the mystery of the words "Yankee" and "Doodle." Wild flings into philology have been made in languages which range in cur-

rency from the territory of the Cherokee Indians to the Persian Gulf. Numerous stories have been told to account for "Yankee Doodle's" existence as an American national air; but none of these has been at all convincing. They are all given in the report of 1909. Mr. Kidson modestly says that his task is to add a few guesses and to leave the reader to draw his own conclusions as to the value of the theories he propounds.

"Yankee Doodle" is one of the queer tunes existing in several slightly differing versions. We can take it in 6-8, in 2-4, and in common time with equal authority, for it is to be found printed with each of these time signatures, and to the ordinary person one is as good as another. Mr. Kidson has found that the earliest printed copy of the tune, under the title "Yanky Doodle," appears in the first volume of Aird's "Selection of Scotch, English, Irish, and Foreign Airs, for the Fife, Violin, or German Flute," which was pub-

lished about 1775 or 1776. He cites abundant evidence to show that the tune was a tune pure and simple, and while many sets of nonsense verses have been put to the air, they were not united with it until it had become a popular one, as a tune solely. This is his explanation:

Many musical people in those days were content to play simple airs on flute, or violin, without other accompaniment. The tune and the performer stood on their own merits, and were not bolstered up by harmony or the backing of a second performer. The man in his solitude unscrewed his flute and tootled into it to his own satisfaction, if not to that of his neighbors.

I assert (I feel sure, correctly) that "Yankee Doodle" has been evolved on the flute or fife, most likely the latter, by an amateur musician. I should fix the nationality of this person, unknown to fame, as American. I do not see any great antiquity in the melody; I should very much doubt whether it went so far back as 1740, inclining to a date ten or twenty years later.

Another point in my argument is the fact that while fragments of nonsense verse have been adapted to the tune these have had no stability and have varied as fancy or political situations have dictated. It is, I think, quite obvious that the air has not been composed for words, but has been evolved as a sprightly dance melody. Its connection with the dance is indicated by one of the early choruses used to the tune:

Yankey Doodle keep it up,
Yankey doodle dandy;
Mind the music and the step,
And with the girls be handy.

Considering the question of the name, "Yankee Doodle," the writer continues:

Much diving into records has elicited the fact that the earliest known use of the word "Yankee" goes back to 1725, at which date a Negro man named "Yankee" is to be sold. (See *Notes and Queries*, vol. 10, 1878.) Further we find that the word "Yankey" is a nickname in use in America a little later than that time, and we know that in due course natives of the Eastern States of America became nominated, vulgarly, "Yankees."

It is a futile task to attempt to trace the derivation of "Yankee," but I wish to point out that the words "Yanko" and "Yarico" have been used by English writers as typical proper names for Indians on the further side of the Atlantic, just in the same way that they might use "Mustapha" for a Turk, or "Paddy" for an Irishman. . . .

Also, it must be noted that the 18th century flute tutors, and later ones, instruct the learner in "double tonguing" to pronounce the word "tootle" as he blows into the flute. The words "doodle" and "tootle" are sufficiently alike to believe that the one may be used for the other indifferently.

Accepting the above as reasonable propositions, it is conceivable that the title "Yankee Doodle" may have come from "The Yankee Tootle," or "The Yankee Doodle," meaning the American air that has no words, and perhaps not a known title, which is "tootled" on the flute or "doodled" by the voice.

In making this suggestion, the writer emphasizes the facts that no words appear to have been coexistent with the birth of the tune, and that it is eminently a flute or a fife tune.

PRESERVING FRUIT BY CARBON DIOXIDE AND OXYGEN

THE Cooper method of preserving fruit, devised by Ellwood Cooper of the Department of Horticulture in California, consists of placing it in cartons inside a metal box which is first reduced to a vacuum and then filled with pure nitrogen. Grapes, apples, pears, cherries, etc., can thus be preserved for about five months. This process has naturally roused much interest in France and Spain, which are both large producers of fruit. *Por Esos Mundos* (Madrid) quotes from *L'Illustration* (Paris) regarding unfavorable criticisms recently made by Bellamy and Chartier, who have proved that fruit conserved in a medium of pure carbon anhydride, without oxygen, decays as readily as in air or even more so, whence it is probable it would do the same in nitrogen.

However, it may be that for a number of

weeks the absence of oxygen, retarding complete maturation, will assure preservation. But this could be only during a short period.

Experiments in this line by a distinguished engineer, Mr. Fernand Lescardé, seem to prove that the best process for conserving fruits consists in refrigeration combined with placing in an antiseptic gaseous medium composed of carbon anhydride and a very small quantity of oxygen, since the cold and the anhydride impede the growth of microorganisms, and the oxygen insures the continuation of life in the fruit.

To resume, the nitrogen process seems not to fulfil the conditions of an absolutely perfect and enduring conservation; much more can be hoped from a process utilizing the combination of a gaseous antiseptic medium—such as indicated—with refrigeration.

THE NEW BOOKS

LITERARY HISTORY, CRITICISM, AND REMINISCENCES

A LEISURELY survey of the literary accomplishment of the later Nineteenth Century, a work on the middle group of American historians, the reminiscences of an Irish octogenarian, Irish stories and character studies, some of the best productions of American essayists, a book on the selection of books, an English essay on "penecraft" and a collection of literary criticisms of living authors that reveal phases of recent radical thought in England, make up a definite group of books that are as pleasant to read as they are solid food for thought.

The second of the two volumes of the Cambridge History of English Literature¹ devoted to the Nineteenth Century, discusses Carlyle, Tennyson, the Brownings, Matthew Arnold, Arthur H. Clough, James Thomson, the pre-Raphaelites, Thackeray, Dickens, the Brontës, George Meredith, Samuel Butler and George Gissing. Professor George Saintsbury contributes a chapter on the "Lesser Poets of the Middle and Later Nineteenth Century," and an analysis of "The Prosody of the Nineteenth Century." Harold Child has dissected the drama of this period; Sir A. W. Ward, Master of Peterhouse, contributes a chapter on "The Political and Social Novel," and W. T. Young, Lecturer in English and literature at Goldsmith's College, University of London, rounds out the volume with a section devoted to "The Lesser Novelists." As a whole, this second division of the Nineteenth Century is marvelously satisfying in scope, scholarship and breadth of treatment. Attention has been called to the inclusion of Samuel Butler and George Gissing among the brilliant figures of the period. Gissing's greater fame came after his death, and Samuel Butler's works have been but recently rescued from the limbo of lost literary achievement.

"Men of Letters,"² by Dixon Scott, must be regarded as one of the most brilliant collections of essays and critiques that has ever come from out the bookish circle of young men who write so astonishingly well on books and their writers for the London press. Dixon Scott was born in July, 1881. He was for some years a clerk in a bank in Liverpool. Later he received a scholarship in the university of that city and after completing his course of study chose journalism as a profession. Many of his finest critical essays were contributed to the *Bookman*, edited by Sir William Robertson Nicoll. Early in 1914 he was

urged to undertake the selection of papers for a book, but before it was finished he had undertaken military duty and in the October of 1915 landed at Gallipoli, a lieutenant in the Royal Field Artillery. On the twenty-third of the same month he died there aboard a hospital ship.

Since the first year of the war there has been a noticeable change in book criticism of the London periodicals discernible to the keen observer. One might say a certain divine radicalism appears less frequently, and the reason for this is that many of the brilliant young reviewers are either dead or fighting somewhere along the English battle front, and older men with conservative tendencies have undertaken their work. There is nothing we have just at present from England or in this country from the younger writers to compare with the freshness and virility and power of Dixon Scott. His mental processes were both synthetic and subtle; he was in reality a poet who wrote prose with a resonance and rhythm the more remarkable for its headlong quality. With him a criticism was an adventure, and how well the adventure rings in the essays on Bernard Shaw, Kipling, Sir James Barrie and "A Chronicle of John Masefield." And these are but a few of the many that in memorial it is good to praise. The introduction is by Max Beerbohm.

Mr. J. F. Fuller, octogenarian, author and architect, ripe in years but still vigorous and young in spirit, includes many piquant literary reminiscences in his last book, "Omniana: The Autobiography of an Irish Octogenarian." Among others there are anecdotes of Samuel Butler, Richard Jeffries, George Henry Lewes and George Eliot. The latter impressed Fuller as a young man so disagreeably that he writes, after many years which might have softened his verdict, that she was "ugly of feature, and awkward and ungraceful of gait and figure." Portraits of many celebrities, facsimiles of letters, and many matters of human and historical interest are crowded into this volume that charms with the cheerfulness of the ghosts that frequent its pages. It is generously illustrated with photographs of places associated with the life and work of its author, among them Ashford and Kylemore castles created by Mr. Fuller's architectural genius.

Most books that picture Irish character present what the Irish imagine they are rather than the reality. The stories in "Dubliners,"³ Irish sketches of city types by James Joyce, present the authentic

¹ The Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller. Vol. 13. Putnam's. 670 pp. \$2.75.

² Men of Letters. By Dixon Scott. Doran. 306 pp. \$2.

³ Omniana: The Autobiography of an Irish Octogenarian. By J. F. Fuller. Dutton. Ill. 310 pp. \$3.
⁴ Dubliners. By James Joyce. Huebsch. 278 pp. \$1.50.

character of the city-bred Irishman of to-day in tales that are tense, biting masterpieces of realism. Hardy might have written "The Boarding House," De Maupassant, "A Painful Case." Mr. Joyce's gift for pithy phrasing is remarkable. Note these sentences from the last-mentioned story: "He gnawed the rectitude of his life . . ." "He lived at a little distance from his body," regarding his own acts with doubtful side glances." The long story, "The Dead," stirs one to discover whether one is really alive or a dry husk blown hither and thither in mere existence at nature's sufferance.

A second book by this author, "A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man,"¹ records the impressions of childhood, adolescence, and importunate young manhood of an average middle-class young Dublin Irishman. All the unreconciled factors of the various political, social and religious groups in Ireland play upon the shaping of his essential character and one understands the subtle substratum of youthful Ireland better for having read this book. It is a work of clarity, insight, and vitality.

Leisurely essays by Henry Dwight Sedgwick contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly* and the *Yale Review* are published under the title, "An Apology for Old Maids."² This whimsical phrase hardly suggests the solid content of the book or even the grace and spiritual insight of the title essay. The papers are models of penmanship, essays in the old, elegant manner. "The Classics Again" should be read by everybody who pretends to culture. "Literature and Cosmopolitanism" will appeal especially to students, and "The House of Sorrows," with its finely tempered philosophy and allegorical charm, will comfort everyone who has known trouble and grief. Owen Wister writes in the preface that Mr. Sedgwick's pages are full of "tender beauty that ministers like the quiet Andante of some symphony to the spirit's well-being."

England's mid-Victorian historians are still read and admired, along with her poets and novelists and essayists of the same brilliant period. As to their American contemporaries—Bancroft, Prescott, Motley, Irving, and Sparks—we still speak of them reverentially, but we long ago ceased, as a people, to read them. In "The Middle Group of American Historians,"³ Prof. John Spencer Bassett reminds us that those men commanded the attention and respect of the generation that lived between 1830 and 1870 in a greater degree than is enjoyed by any American author of the present. Our fathers and grandfathers had more time for reading than we have, perhaps. At any rate, they found it possible to read the history of their own and other countries far more generally than this generation reads anything of serious purport. And yet, as Professor Bassett points out, history is now being written, taught, and studied by a larger number of Americans than ever before. The "scientific" history of our day does not attract voluntary readers. There is, however, one brilliant exception.

Francis Parkman, although a Nineteenth-Century writer, was in the fullest sense an historian of the modern school of research, while the grace and charm of his literary expression ranked him with the best of the Victorians. Professor Bassett rightly places him in the modern, rather than the "middle," period of American historical writing.

Those who are familiar with Bishop William A. Quayle's numerous writings will be enthusiastic over a series of fine essays on men and women and literature—"Recovered Yesterdays in Literature."⁴ It is doubtful if anyone has written more engagingly of Lamb, or with more fervency of devotional books. Studies of Shakespeare's and Tennyson's men are included in this volume.

"Pencraft,"⁵ by William Watson, the poet, begs writers to return to the older ways of writing and to understand that while the soul of literature is without doubt greater than its body, it is chiefly by its body that men are "invited, beckoned, and snared" into the splendor of its soul. In sonorous, dignified prose he proceeds to analyze literature. He divides it into three groups—the cantative, quoting Shelley's finest inspirations as illustrations; the scriptive, the essentially written as distinguished from the elemental "chanted word," and the loquitive, which is essentially talk. This book is attractive, timely, and full of stimulating suggestion; it is a gracious plea for serene and leisurely accomplishment to the end of lasting and noble literature.

First out of four recent books bearing the name "Powys" read "The Soliloquy of a Hermit," by Theodore Francis Powys. It will lift the spirit out of the routine of wearisome days and bring flavors of Emerson and Thoreau. Here is wisdom from its pages: "I can see in every page of my life that my happiness has been taken away because of my desire to get into another life rather than live my own." For those who enjoy the thrills of intensive, highly emotional literary appreciations, with spiritual reactions from books and their authors, "Suspended Judgments," by John Cowper Powys, will prove a delight. This book energizes the mind and abounds in powerful descriptive passages; to wit, that prose-poem essay on Emily Brontë.

In another volume we have "Confessions of Two Brothers." John Cowper Powys analyzes his own psychology, not aside from himself, but mightily encased in his own apparelment of a mind that loves genius above everything and takes pride in healthy egoism. The younger brother, Lewellyn Powys, offers simpler and more naïve matters of biography in part reprinted from the *Statesman* and the *New Review*.

"One Hundred Best Books," with commentary and an essay on books and reading, gives the results of John Cowper Powys' knowledge and taste in world literature condensed to guide readers who lean upon other judgment than their own. These books are published by G. Arnold Shaw, New York.

¹ The Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man. By James Joyce. Huebsch. 299 pp. \$1.50.

² An Apology for Old Maids. By Henry D. Sedgwick. Macmillan. 221 pp. \$1.50.

³ The Middle Group of American Historians. By John Spencer Bassett. Macmillan. 324 pp. \$2.

⁴ Recovered Yesterdays in Literature. By William A. Quayle. The Abingdon Press. 306 pp. \$1.50.

⁵ Pencraft. By William Watson. John Lane. 104 pp. \$1.

PRACTICAL BOOKS ON HEALTH, NURSING, THE CARE OF CHILDREN, FOODS AND COOKERY

FOUR groups of books that deal with scientific living, contain valuable information for the preservation of mental and physical health, summaries of the results of the newest methods of private and public health nursing, advice to parents, teachers, and all who are concerned with the care of babies and the education of children and with details in regard to the present food supply, economic problems, and the art of cookery.

One of the foremost aids to mental health is a reprint of two addresses by William James, *The Energies of Men* and *The Gospel of Relaxation*. Few men ever work at their maximum rate of energy. Both individual and collective economy can be forwarded by studying into the methods of avoiding "habit neurosis" and tapping the vast supply of energy reserve we all possess. Proper relaxation brings about the destruction of the poison of our inhibitions, a theory which one finds fully detailed in the words of Freud.

In connection with this work one can heartily recommend *Nervous Disorders of Men*, by Bernard Hollander, M.D. (Dutton), an excellent book of advice and suggestion for the man who suffers from nervous disorders arising from evident or obscure origins. A companion volume, *Nervous Disorders of Women*, is published in uniform edition. *Headaches and How to Prevent Them*, by W. H. Riley, M.D. (Good Health Co.), gives a variety of drugless cures and discusses preventive hygiene.

Physics and Chemistry for Nurses, by Amy Elizabeth Pope (Putnam), explains the physical and chemical processes constantly referred to in physiology, materia medica, and the studies in the curriculum of schools for nurses. This is a most valuable book for the home as well as for the trained nurse.

Everyone who has interest in the problem of public health will appreciate an excellent book on *Public Health Nursing*, by Mary S. Gardiner, president of the National Association of Public Health Nursing (Macmillan). This is not a text-book, but a history of the nursing movement and an exposition of its principles, together with the latest advances made by experimenters; also suggestions for school and industrial nursing and for medical social service. To place the contents of this book before the public is an important service to the state.

The Home Care of Consumptives, by Roy L. French (Putnam), is a compact treatise for those who are fighting the disease. Mr. French was formerly secretary for the Kentucky Tuberculosis Commission and has been engaged for four years in education and executive work in the campaign against tuberculosis.

In *Clothing and Health*, by Helen Kinne and Anna M. Cooley (Macmillan), we have an illustrated elementary text-book on the origins of clothing and how to buy, make, and simplify it, prepared for use in both schools and homes.

The Mothercraft Manual, by Mary L. Read, director of the School of Mothercraft, New York

City (Little, Brown), gives practical instruction in the care and training of children at home. It is a book every young mother should have. *The Mothers' Manual*, by Emelyn Coolidge, M.D. (W. E. Richardson Co.), is divided into three parts—a month-by-month guide for mothers, the care and feeding of children from the fourth to the twelfth year, and quick reference summaries. Dr. Coolidge is editor of the "Babies' Department" of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. An excellent work for those who are anxious to become familiar with methods of reducing infant mortality, *Infancy and Childhood*, has been prepared by Walter Reeve Ramsey, M.D. (Dutton). The author is Assistant Professor of Diseases of Children at the University of Minnesota and director of the St. Paul Baby Welfare Association.

The Hygiene of Infancy, by J. H. Kellogg (Good Health Co.), is a simple, practical illustrated manual for young mothers, written in the endeavor to improve the "baby crop" of America. Dr. Kellogg devotes one chapter to the discussion of the prevention of infantile paralysis. *Abnormal Children*, by Bernard Hollander, M.D. (Dutton), should be in the possession of every parent whose children are overly mischievous, nervous, backward, precocious, or unexplainable in any way. It is especially designed to instruct parents, teachers, and medical officers in schools. *Making the Most of Children*, by Professor Daniel Wolford La Rue (Educational Book Co.), begs for the constant practise of intelligence and discrimination in bringing up children. Parents are advised to challenge forth good traits and give purposeful efficiency to the growing lives. A most sympathetic and helpful volume.

Changes in the Food Supply, by Lafayette Mendel (Yale University Press), notes the effects of improved transportation on food supplies and diet and discusses preservative methods for foods and the economic reforms necessitated by the war, particularly in Germany. The author is an expert physiological chemist. *Food Values: What They Are and How to Calculate Them*, by Margaret McKillop, M.A. (Dutton), is a useful handbook for teachers and demonstrators of cookery and for all who are responsible for daily menus. *Food and Health*, by Anna Cooley and Helen Kinne, a volume in the "Home-Making Series" (Macmillan), has been prepared as an elementary text-book on home-making. It is just the book to give to a girl who wants to learn how to "help mother." *The Myrtle Reed Cookbook* (Putnam) contains complete lists of recipes practical for the average housewife, with housekeeping wisdom and philosophy thrown in for extra savor. *Allied Cookery*, arranged by Grace C. Harrison and Gertrude Clerque (Putnam), presents the favorite recipes of the British, French, Italian, Belgian, and Russian cooks in one handy volume decorated with the flags of the allied nations. No less a personage than Madame Jusserand, wife of the French Ambassador, has contributed a "charlotte des pommes."

THE WAR AND ITS ISSUES

Why Men Fight. By Bertrand Russell. Century. 272 pp. \$1.50.

After reading Bertrand Russell's famous peace letter to President Wilson, which escaped the English censor by being sent to the White House by a special messenger, Americans generally will be interested in reading further expressions of the English philosopher's views. In the present volume Mr. Russell, besides summing up his own philosophic point of view and analyzing the human causes of war, makes a positive and constructive contribution to sociology. His method for the prevention of war is to foster counter impulses in line with the creative and purposive tendencies of life. In this connection his book treats of property, education, marriage and the population question, and religion and the churches.

War, Peace, and the Future. By Ellen Key. Translated by Hildegard Norberg. Putnam's. 271 pp. \$1.50.

In what way can humanity prevent war? This book is Miss Key's detailed answer to the question. It attacks the existing system of national and international policies at many points, and attempts to point out to women a way by which they may rid the world of war, a scourge from which they have suffered as much as men.

Democracy and Peace. By James Bissett Pratt. Boston: Richard G. Badger. 105 pp. \$1.

These four essays by the Professor of Philosophy at Williams College represent the point of view of a pacifist who believes in war. He discusses "The Meaning of Democracy," "American Idealism," "The Idealism of War," and "The Hope of Lasting Peace." He looks upon democracy not as primarily a matter of government or of economics, but as a moral idea.

Philosophy and War. By Émile Boutroux. Translated by F. Rothwell. Dutton. 212 pp. \$1.75.

An eminent French philosopher's analysis of the deductions and theories of men of different nationalities in relation to war. Although philosophical in method, these essays deal with concrete topics—for example, "German Science," "The Evolution of German Thought," "France: A Fortress," "The Spirit of France," "After the War," "The French Idea of Nationality"—and set forth a distinct point of view.

Towards an Enduring Peace. Compiled by Randolph S. Bourne. American Association for International Conciliation. 336 pp. Gratuitous.

The various peace proposals and programs that have been formulated since the beginning of the Great War are brought together in this volume. The most constructive suggestions made by leading thinkers in Europe and America are presented in an orderly and convenient arrangement for the use of all students of the subject. These are followed by an appendix which reprints the formal statements and propaganda of the several peace organizations in both hemispheres. The whole forms a useful contribution to the literature of international conciliation.

The Basis of Durable Peace. By Cosmos. Scribner. 144 pp. 30 cents.

The articles composing this pamphlet were originally printed in daily issues of the *New York Times* during November and December, 1916. They attracted the attention of European publicists and some of their British readers have remarked on the similarity of the author's line of thought to that followed by President Wilson in his address to the Senate on January 22.

The Possible Peace. By Roland Hugins. Century. 198 pp. \$1.25.

In making his forecast of world politics after the war Mr. Hugins discloses his lack of faith in conventional passivism. He does not believe that the war will result in a complete solution of the general problem of international peace, nor even that such an outcome will be brought much nearer. Therefore, he does not advocate disarmament as an immediate step, but for the United States he favors a large measure of preparedness. His argument is at once a plea for peace and for preparedness. In the present war he maintains strict neutrality, holding that any impartial analysis of the causes of this war and of possible future wars must of necessity displease both pro-Allies and pro-Germans; but his principal object seems to be to set forth a correct line of policy for America.

A History of the Great War. By Arthur Conan Doyle. Vol. I. Doran. 349 pp. \$2.

It is the generally accepted opinion that histories of any particular war written during the progress of the fighting can have in future only a psychological value. A notable example of this form of literary product was Horace Greeley's "American Conflict," published in 1864, and recording the progress of the Civil War up to the date of publication. The most noteworthy instance of this kind in connection with the present war is the history by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, the first volume of which, covering the British campaign in France and Flanders in 1914, has just made its appearance. Whatever may be said as to the difficulty of obtaining the proper perspective from which to estimate events of such recent occurrence, it is undoubtedly true that works of this kind are useful in collecting and preserving incidents and details that might otherwise be lost to posterity.

A Woman and the War. By the Countess of Warwick. Doran. 270 pp. \$2.

The Countess of Warwick, always interesting and stimulating in the frank expression of her views on current topics, advances several opinions in this volume that are sure to command attention and discussion. She believes, for instance, that the late King Edward, had he lived, could and would have prevented the war. She also sees as a result of the war new opportunities for advancing social reconstruction. In her concluding chapter on Anglo-American relations, she looks forward to an era of Anglo-Saxon union for the service of the world.

The Pan-German Plot Unmasked. By André Chéradamé. With introduction by the Earl of Cromer. Scribner. 235 pp. \$1.25.

To frustrate the much-discussed project of German control "from Hamburg to the Persian Gulf," this French writer proposes the creation of a southern Slav state as a barrier to German advance towards the East. His general aim is the securing of independence for the non-German peoples of central Europe.

The Russian Advance. By Stanley Washburn. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page. 275 pp. \$1.25.

This is the third volume of field notes from the Russian front, made by Mr. Washburn, who has served as special correspondent of the London *Times* with the Russian armies and has contributed several articles to the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS*. The period covered by this volume runs from June 5th to September 1st, 1916, and gives a detailed account of the remarkable offensive drive launched by General Brussilov.

False Witness. The authorized translation of "Klokke Roland," by Johannes Jørgensen. Doran. 227 pp. \$1.

This is the expression of an independent Danish viewpoint on Germany's part in the war. The author strongly condemns the methods followed in the German occupation of Belgium.

When the Prussians Came to Poland. By Laura de Gozdawa Turczynowicz. Putnam's. 281 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

The experiences of an American woman, the wife of a Polish noble, during the German invasion. The book tells of the disturbed conditions of the country, the writer's Red Cross work, her fight against typhus, and at last her release and journey through Germany and Holland to the United States.

Red Cross and Iron Cross. By a Doctor in France. Dutton. 143 pp. Ill. \$1.

An English doctor's observations from the battle line in France.

A Sunny Sabalturn. McClelland, Goodchild & Stewart (Toronto). 175 pp. \$1.

For those who want to know the actual unvarnished experiences of the Canadian soldier at the front, and catch the thrill of the American spirit fighting the battles of the Old World, "A Sunny Sabalturn or, Billy's Letters from Flanders," is the book to read. They were originally written by a Canadian lieutenant to his mother. There is no attempt to be literary; the letters are just letters that are saved from the horror of war by their humor, and descriptions of the expedients of trench life. A sketch of MacCarthy, soldier of Canada, whose one talent was cookery, heightens the intense realism of the book.

German Policy Before the War. By G. W. Prothero. Dutton. 111 pp. \$1.

This writer emphasizes the establishment of German influence in the Balkans and in the

Turkish Empire as the fundamental object of German policy.

Love for the Battle-Torn Peoples. By Jenkin, Lloyd Jones. Chicago: Unity Publishing Co. 166 pp. 75 cents.

A study of the contributions made by each of the warring nations to art, literature, science and philosophy. By presenting the matters that are lovable in each of these peoples, Dr. Jones shows that the things which unite the nations are more vital than the things which divide them.

The Ordeal by Fire. By Marcel Berger. Translated by Mrs. Cecil Curtiss. Putnam's. 532 pp. \$1.50.

A vivacious story of the experiences of a sergeant in the French army.

'Neath Verdun, August-October, 1914. By Maurice Genevoix. Translated by H. Grahame Richards. Stokes. 310 pp. \$1.60.

The journal of a student in the Ecole Normale of Paris, describing his service at the front during the months of August, September, and October, 1914.

The Conscript Mother. By Robert Herrick. Charles Scribner's Sons. 99 pp. 50 cents.

The story of the devotion of an Italian mother to her soldier son in the days just before and after Italy's entrance into the war.

Their Spirit: Some Impressions of the English and French During the Summer of 1916. By Robert Grant. Houghton, Mifflin. 101 pp. 50 cents.

A series of letters originally contributed by Mr. Grant to the Boston *Evening Transcript*. The writer became powerfully impressed by the heroic temper of both the English and the French, and writes from the standpoint of one who regards the cause of the Allies as essentially that of America.

The Book of Truth and Facts. By Fritz von Frantzius. Published by the author, 122 South La Salle Street, Chicago, Ill. 96 pp. 50 cents.

A survey in brief compass of German achievements in philosophy, science, art, invention, finance, and commerce.

Waitful Watching. By James L. Ford. Stokes. 56 pp. Ill. 60 cents.

A satirical treatment of Uncle Sam's part in the great war.

The Judgment of the Orient. By K'ung Yuan Ku'suh. Dutton. 71 pp. 60 cents.

A most unusual view of the underlying causes of the war made by a Chinese student and traveler and edited and rendered into flowing English phrases by Ambrose Platt. This view, while not familiar to most persons, has long been a favorite speculation among psychologists. Simply stated, it is as follows: Sex lies at the root

of all warfare. The feminine soul eternally wars on the masculine soul. The nation that has become thoroughly feminized by over-emphasis of the feminine sex bond loses moral balance, which is particularly a male attribute as opposed to feminine instinct, and flies in emotional war hysteria at the world to gain her ends irrespective of justice, honor and sacred obligation. K'ung Yuan Ku'suh finds Germany and Turkey essentially feminine, England and France masculine. Because France and England are masculine and masculine steadiness and spiritual force are stronger than feminine instinct in the decision of national affairs, he foresees victory for the Entente Allies.

The Psychology of the Great War. By Gustave Le Bon. Translated by E. Andrews. Macmillan. 480 pp. \$3.

In this volume a French writer describes the evolution of modern Germany, analyzes the causes of the war—remote and immediate—and the psychological forces involved in battles. Three chapters are devoted to German methods of warfare.

America's Relations to the Great War. By John Williams Burgess. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 209 pp. \$1.

The greater part of this little book is devoted to the questions of blockade and submarine defense. Among the terms and conditions of peace, as Professor Burgess thinks they should be made from the standpoint of twentieth century

requirements, are the freedom of the seas, the inviolability of private property upon the high seas in war as well as peace, the independence of all colonies capable of self-government, the holding of all other colonies open to the world's trade upon the same conditions as with the motherland, and the economic as well as political regeneration of the Ottoman Empire.

Understanding Germany: The Only Way to End War, and Other Essays. By Max Eastman. Mitchell Kennerley. 169 pp. \$1.25.

Interesting chiefly as a psychologist's analysis of patriotism and his proposition for a federation of the world.

The Vampire of the Continent. By Count Ernst Zu Reventlow. Translation by George Chatterton-Hill. The Jackson Press. 225 pp. \$1.25.

An intensely anti-British and pro-German rendition of modern history, culminating in the catastrophe of 1914 "prepared" by England's government.

The Growth of a Legend. By Fernand van Langenhove. Translated by E. B. Sherlock; preface by J. Mark Baldwin. Putnam's. 321 pp. \$1.25.

An attempted refutation, from evidence, of the German accounts of *francs-tireurs* and "atrocities" perpetrated by the Belgian civil population. The work is based upon authentic German documents.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

Nationalizing America. By Edward A. Steiner. Revell. 240 pp. \$1.

Professor Steiner describes himself as "both an immigrant and an American," and, as he states, the writing has served the purpose of retesting for him the experiences through which he passed in becoming Americanized. His outlook on national problems is especially important at this time, when America is facing marked social and economic changes as the inevitable outcome of the Great War.

Leadership of the New America. By Archibald McClure. Doran. 314 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

In his studies of immigrant leadership in the United States Mr. McClure, who during the year 1915-1916 held a fellowship in McCormick Theological Seminary, visited various immigrant communities throughout the country, attending labor meetings and social gatherings and holding personal interviews with several hundred immigrants or persons of recognized leadership among them, including Government officials, settlement workers, priests, Protestant pastors, free thinkers, foreign-language newspaper editors, Socialists, I. W. W. leaders, saloonkeepers, doctors, and lawyers. By consulting with these varied elements it was hoped that data might be obtained

that would contribute to the problem of the training of religious leaders for work among the immigrant population. Just how successful this attempt was remains to be seen. Mr. McClure's study does not purport to be either exhaustive or complete, but it is at least suggestive. Sixteen nationalities are represented in the data secured.

The Japanese Conquest of American Opinion. By Montaville Flowers. 272 pp. \$1.50.

A presentation of the chief arguments for and against Japanese naturalization. The author combats the arguments of those Japanese propagandists who urge for their countrymen the full rights of immigration, citizenship, and intermarriage with the white race. He represents the extreme wing of anti-Japanese opinion on the Pacific Coast.

England's World Empire. By Alfred Hoyt Granger. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co. 323 pp. \$1.50.

A survey of the rise and growth of the British Empire, to which are appended several chapters on the origins of the present war as they affect America. The author's attitude is distinctly anti-British, although he himself is of English stock,

and he states that all the authorities which he has consulted are either English or of English ancestry.

The Problem of the Commonwealth. By Lionel Curtis. Macmillan. 248 pp. Tables. \$1.50.

To citizens of the United States this book is of purely academic interest. It is concerned with the problem how a British citizen in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, or South Africa can acquire the same control of foreign policy as a citizen who has his domicile in the British Isles. In other words, this book sets forth the several changes which must be made before a British subject in the Dominions, as they are called, can acquire self-government in the same degree as a subject living in England, Ireland, or Scotland.

The Commonwealth of Nations. An Inquiry Into the Nature of Citizenship in the British Empire, Etc. Edited by L. Curtis. Part I. Macmillan. 722 pp. Maps. \$1.50.

This volume sets forth in detail the data on which the conclusions summarized in "The Problem of the Commonwealth" are based. They include a careful review of England's relations with the thirteen colonies, which, after the American Revolution, constituted the United States of America.

Canada's Future: What She Offers After the War. Edited by E. A. Victor. Macmillan. 320 pp. \$1.50.

A symposium on Canada's outlook educationally, industrially, and commercially, to which a great number of Canadians in official life contribute.

Renaissant Latin-America. By Harlan P. Beach. Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada. 258 pp. Ill. \$1.

An account of the "Congress on Christian Work in Latin-America," held at Panama one year ago. A three-volume report of the Congress, containing the investigations of its eight commissions, as well as a careful report of its platform discussions and addresses, will appear later.

South America. Brief Outline of Study Suggestions with Bibliography. By Harry Erwin Bard. Heath. 68 pp. 65 cents.

Mr. Bard, who has prepared this bibliography, was formerly official adviser of the Peruvian Ministry of Instruction, and is now Secretary of the Pan-American Society of the United States.

The Unity of the Americas. By Robert E. Speer. Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada. 25 cents.

In this little volume Mr. Speer discusses some of the political, commercial, educational, and religious relationships between the United States and the Latin-American countries to the south.

A Brief Bibliography of Books in English, Spanish and Portuguese, Relating to the Republics Commonly Called Latin-American,

with Comments. By Peter H. Goldsmith. Macmillan. 107 pp. 50 cents.

The compiler of this bibliography is Director of the Pan-American Division of the American Association for International Conciliation. His comments on the books that he lists leave the cursory reader with the impression that very few works of permanent value concerning the Latin-American republics have been published. The few books that he sees fit to commend are the more likely to engage the student's serious attention.

Present-Day China. By Gardner L. Harding. Century. 250 pp. Ill. \$1.

It is impossible for a writer on China of today to do much more than present a series of pictures of the rapidly changing social and political structure of that country. Mr. Harding was in China in 1913, when constitutionalism was at the height of its power. He remained until the leaders of the constitutional party had been banished from the country. When he finished writing his book Yuan Shih-Kai had declared himself emperor, but while he was reading the proof the monarchy collapsed and the republic was resumed. In spite of these kaleidoscopic shifts of scene Mr. Harding thinks that "the privileges of writing of the mental background of a people of such incessant wakefulness and vitality is worth the journalistic risk of being out of date when your book comes out."

The Revolt in Arabia. By Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje. With a foreword by Richard J. H. Gottheil. Putnam's. 50 pp. 75 cents.

A brief account of the movement described in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for November, 1916.

Report to the American Manufacturers Export Association by the American Industrial Commission to France. September-October, 1916. New York: Manufacturers' Export Association. 256 pp. \$5.

The American Industrial Commission to France, organized and conducted under the auspices of the American Manufacturers' Export Association, went to France last year to learn how American resources might best be made available for reconstruction work in the regions laid waste by war and to see what could be done in the way of furthering Franco-American trade relations. With this purpose the commission endeavored during a rapid survey of France to get as clear a picture as was possible in war time of the condition of the country and of our commercial relations with the French people. Its report, which has just been published, contains a great amount of important data bearing on the subject under investigation. The facilities enjoyed by this commission were far greater than could possibly have been obtained by any individual on such a quest. The report is of great value to American exporters and manufacturers. It is beautifully printed and illustrated with photographs and maps.

SCIENCE IN HUMAN SERVICE

Marvels of Scientific Invention. By Thomas W. Corbin. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 251 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

This book has chiefly to do with the arts of peace, although such warlike inventions as submarines and torpedoes are described in its pages. It tells in non-technical language about the latest developments in the use of electricity, in photography, and in the general field of applied science.

Chemistry in the Service of Man. By Alexander Findlay. Longmans, Green. 255 pp. Ill. \$1.60.

A popular account, by the Professor of Chemistry in the University of Wales, of what his science has thus far accomplished for the material well-being of mankind.

Agricultural Economics. By Edwin G. Nourse. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 896 pp. \$2.75.

This is a volume of extracts from standard authorities applying economic principles to the practise of agriculture. The book brings together in an orderly arrangement (1) information which may profitably come within the view of the student who desires to understand the economic phenomena of agriculture, and (2) opinions that have already been expressed as to the meaning of these facts. The material selected contains abundance of concrete illustrations and intimate personal viewpoints.

The Life of the Caterpillar. By J. Henri Fabre. Dodd, Mead. 376 pp. \$1.50.

The sixth book of translation from the "*Souvenirs Entomologiques*" of the late French naturalist rendered into English by Alexander Teixeira de Mattos, Fellow of the Zoological Society of London. In Fabre's study of the Pine Processionary Caterpillar, he summarizes the long road of the evolution of the human mind. To the great savant every insect was a symbol, a signpost on the highway of eternal change. Read the chapter of "The Great Peacock Moth" and realize freshly the wonder of so-called "blind" instinct, and the chapter on the "Cabbage Caterpillar" to discover how nature aids mankind in the extermination of certain pestiferous insects.

The Book of Forestry By Frederick F. Moon. Appleton. 315 pp. \$1.75.

Mr. Moon says that we have been a nation of forest butchers and the result is that the "forest primeval" has largely vanished from the United States and immense wastage has taken place. This book on practical forestry has been prepared particularly to induce a love of trees and shrubs and acquaintance with the art of woodcraft and the influence of proper forestry upon floods, climate, and agriculture. The book will be helpful to Boy Scouts who wish to obtain merit badges on conservation, forest protection and fire prevention. The pages are generously illustrated. Every parent who has growing boys should make this book part of their summer study curriculum.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

How to Learn Easily. By George Van Ness Dearborn. Little, Brown. 227 pp. \$1.

A book that will make the process of "learning" easier, more pleasant and productive for young people and for adults by utilizing the psychology of the individual and the principles of study-economics during the time given to acquiring knowledge. There is a chapter on the "Educative Imagination" and another on "Books and Their Educative Use," each well worth the price of the book. Every one who has difficulty in acquiring knowledge and retaining it, and all teachers, should possess this helpful book.

The Art of Handling Men. By James Collins. Henry Altemus, Philadelphia. 143 pp. 50 cents.

A pungent, peppery handbook of advice and suggestion to men who have to manage other men. The judgment of the book is that this particular talent, while inborn in many instances, can be acquired by patience, tact, perseverance, and application to the principles of human psy-

chology. The data are taken from the Civic Federation's Welfare Bureau, and from the personal experience of many employers.

The Psychology of Religion. By George Albert Coe. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 365 pp. \$1.50.

There are other books in existence bearing this title, but none for which the data were secured by the methods adopted by Dr. Coe. As a college and theological seminary professor and later as organizer and conductor of a "laboratory" Sunday School for children from kindergarten up to college years, Dr. Coe has systematically collected and classified facts related to his subject, and has conducted definite experiments through a long term of years. This volume embodies not only his own observation and experience, but those of a large group of trained assistants who have been working in many institutions. His book, therefore, represents the modern laboratory rather than library method applied to a subject that has heretofore been discussed mainly from the standpoint of the cloister and the study.

FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—INVESTMENT VALUE OF INDUSTRIAL PREFERRED STOCKS

THE margin of safety in an investment, or the expression of its ample ability to cover its interest or dividend requirements, is an elastic measurement varying with the security. Bond houses frequently advertise or offer first or refunding mortgages of railroad or public-utility companies which they say are "covering their interest twice over," or perhaps two and a half times. This is considered a good and sufficient margin. Others call the investors' attention to a choice public-utility preferred stock whose annual surplus for dividends has equaled from three to five times the requirements. Such a record is held up as proof of the stability of dividends paid.

When it comes to the next class of investments, viz., industrial preferred stocks, the imagination in the present condition of manufacturing profits knows no limitations. It is a pretty poor preferred issue that has not been covering its dividends the past year at least five times, and from this minimum the proportions increase to twenty-five and thirty times. This would apply to issues of small size. But take the largest of all, that of the United States Steel Corporation, amounting to \$360,000,000. In the December quarter it earned its dividend fifteen times, or at a rate to retire the outstanding shares within a year. Coincident with the marvelous report which the corporation published was one from a competitor, the Republic Iron and Steel Company, which made enough margin in 1916 to pay the preferred dividend seven and a half times over, while there was the unparalleled record of the Sears-Roebuck Company, with \$16,000,000 available for \$559,188 in preferred dividends, or enough to retire twice over the preferred of \$8,000,000. No one would question very much the ability of this concern to pay its quarterly dividends.

There are certain investment traditions that have a great deal to do in establishing values. Among corporation securities the railroads still hold the first rank, though the transportation industry has shown relatively less promise in the last two years than any other leading one. Next come the public

utilities, toward which a strong tide of public investment favor is setting. Lastly are the industrials. Their position at the rear of the investment list is due to the widely fluctuating character of industrial earnings. This same United States Steel Corporation, which earned \$75 for each preferred share in 1916, did not earn its 7 per cent. dividend in 1914 by \$1,723,000. In that year the Republic Iron and Steel Company earned only half of a full year's dividend. This difference in credit may be illustrated by a comparison of prices of stocks and bonds of the three types of companies, using the Union Pacific Railroad, the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, and the United States Steel Corporation, and the quotations current in the early part of February.

Union Pacific first-mortgage 4 per cent. bonds were then selling at par, the collateral trust 5 per cent. bonds of the Telephone Company at about 102, and the first-mortgage bonds of the Steel Corporation subsidiaries from 101 to 103. Union Pacific 4 per cent. preferred stock was quoted at 85, a basis of return of 4.70 per cent.; Telephone Company stock, which is of one class and pays 8 per cent. at 127, a yield of 6.30 per cent., and United States Steel 7 per cent. preferred at 118, a return of about 6 per cent. Union Pacific common stock, paying 8 per cent. regularly and 2 per cent. extra in December and earning about 18 per cent., was quoted approximately at 135, and United States Steel common, earning in 1916 over 45 per cent. and in the December quarter at the rate of nearly 65 per cent. a year, and paying regular and extra dividends of 12 per cent. per annum, was quoted at the same time between 105 and 100. So there is a difference between railroad and public-utility bonds of equal rank of about one per cent. in return, and slightly more between railroad and industrial bonds, with the margin widening as between railroad and industrial preferred and common stocks.

Aside from the fact that certain railroad bonds are legal for savings-bank and trust

tees' investments, while most public-utility and industrial bonds are not, there does not now appear justification for the large premium of the one class over the other two classes. Individuals and many institutions invest by rote. They do what they have always done, buying what they have bought before, without much attention to the change in conditions surrounding the general industry or the individual property. This is the reason why the names of so many supposedly shrewdly managed institutions are always found represented on reorganization committees. One who has studied investments and investing for years has to confess that a very moderate degree of intelligence has been displayed in the placing of funds by those with fiduciary relations.

This article is not written for the trustee or for the widow or orphan. It is chiefly directed to the business or professional man who invests a portion of his surplus regularly in securities and who wants, and is entitled to have, a very good return on his capital. This sort of a person should be an active and not a passive investor, doing his own thinking and depending to a large extent on his own judgment for what he needs. There are times when he should buy only first-mortgage railroad bonds. There are other times when he is fully justified in placing a fairly large percentage of his surplus earnings in industrial preferred stocks. Such an occasion is the present.

In addition to the large profits for dividends which insure a continuation of payments for some years after peace, there has been the permanently valuable factor of a reduction of the bond interest or floating debt that has to be considered before dividends are paid on stocks. In the aggregate probably \$100,000,000 of such debt has been cancelled by American manufacturing corporations since the war began. Further than this they have expended a much larger sum from income in increasing their facilities and raising their standards of efficiency, which will be so much more profit to apply to dividends of the future. A great many companies had been in arrears with accumulated dividends so large that shareholders despaired of ever receiving them. Most of these back dividends have been liquidated, either in cash or in some form of new security. Unfortunately a few concerns have seen fit to impose a fixed charge to meet such accumulations. This is not good financing. It perpetuates an obviously bad precedent condition. The

average method has been of a high order in meeting moral and legal obligations without imposing burdens on future generations of shareholders.

With fixed debt erased a preferred stock becomes a prior lien on property, plants, raw materials, cash assets, etc. If the dividend on such a stock is being covered, say five to six times, has been regularly paid for a period of from ten to fifteen years, and the amount of stock is in fair proportion to the cost of plant and its appurtenances and to the normal years' gross earnings and there is in sight a period of a year of continued profits at the present scale and possibly two years of business taxing plant capacity, there is not much risk involved in the purchase of such securities. They give a return on capital invested of from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 7 per cent.

In going over the lists of investments of individuals as well as of corporations it is common experience to find a considerable proportion of one class of stocks or bonds. For instance, the most familiar group of stocks in the investor's portfolio is made up of Great Northern preferred, Northern Pacific, St. Paul, and Chicago & Northwestern. Almost as popular seem to have been Pennsylvania, New York Central, Baltimore & Ohio, and New Haven. The explanation, in part, is that these groups were at some time stimulated from the same source, possibly the late E. H. Harriman, and people bought them all at once because they concurrently promised so much in the way of higher dividends, "melons," stock "rights," etc. The factors of crop losses, higher taxes, increased wages, or competition with Canada all apply to the first group, so if the investor with Northern Pacific should suffer from reduced earnings he would have no balancing benefits from owning securities of a road in a district blessed by good crops or by a high state of industrial activity. Similarly those with stocks in corresponding parts of the manufacturing East would be affected by one set of industrial conditions.

Our argument is that there should also be a splitting up of some of these badly proportioned investment holdings and an exchange of a portion of the standard railroad shares for industrial preferred stocks with equally high rating. In an exchange it is always well to select those issues that are selling near to the price of the one owned and which gives about the same income. To illustrate: Northern Pacific, paying a 7 per cent. dividend since 1903, is now quoted at about the equiv-

alent of Pressed Steel Car preferred, which has paid 7 per cent. since 1899 and is earning its dividend $2\frac{1}{2}$ times over compared with $1\frac{1}{2}$ times by Northern Pacific. In buying stocks too many persons are influenced by what previous prices have been and too little by actual values. They would buy Northern Pacific on the idea that it might again sell at \$1000 a share or at \$230 a share as it did ten years ago and overlook any changes occurring meanwhile to permanently affect the quotation for the stock. Likewise,

they would be inclined to discount the potentialities of securities representing industries that had come to the front through evolutions more conspicuous five years hence than they are to-day. The preferred shares of some of our best automobile companies are probably as intrinsically sound now as were many railroad bonds ten years ago. The same is true of the senior stocks of large distributing houses, chain stores, and other representatives of trade not known to the last generation of investors.

II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

NO. 823.—ABOUT THE FEDERAL INCOME TAX

Will you please tell me whether a woman with an income of about \$4500 a year, having a young child to support, is subject to an income tax in Illinois.

The laws of Illinois do not impose any tax upon the incomes of people having their legal residence in that State, but in a situation such as you have explained you are subject to the Federal Income Tax law. From the following ruling of the Treasury Department, however, you will note that you are "the head of a family" and that, therefore, your income is exempt up to \$4000:

"A head of a family is held to be a person who actually supports and maintains one or more individuals who are closely connected with him by blood relationship, relationship by marriage, or by adoption, and whose right to exercise family control and provide for those dependent individuals is based upon some moral or legal obligation."

Aside from this exemption there are certain kinds of income which are also exempt under the Federal law—for example, the income from United States Government, State, and municipal bonds and the income from dividends on the stocks of domestic corporations, except in cases where such dividends amount to over \$20,000, or where together with other income they exceed \$20,000. And, again, there are a large number of cases where individuals deriving income from bonds that are subject to the tax are not assessed because of the fact that the issuing corporations themselves pay the tax.

If your income does not happen to be derived from any of these exempt sources, you would have to pay the tax of 2 per cent. on \$500.

NO. 824.—STANDARD INVESTMENT RAILROAD STOCKS

Please mention a number of railroad stocks which you consider the best for investment, together with the prices at which they are selling; and advise whether such securities can be purchased in small lots.

Among the more conservative of the so-called "standard," well-established dividend-paying railroad stocks the following might be mentioned:

Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé preferred, paying dividends at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum and selling at about \$99 per share.

Chicago & Northwestern common, paying dividends at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum and selling at about \$121 per share.

Great Northern preferred, paying dividends at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum and selling at about \$116 per share.

Pennsylvania (par value \$50 per share), paying dividends at the rate of \$3 per share per annum and selling at about \$56 per share.

Union Pacific common, paying dividends at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum and selling at about \$144 per share.

These are, as we have already said, standard investment stocks of their class. They are listed on the New York Stock Exchange, where they enjoy at all times a broad and more or less active market. They are stocks which can be purchased in small lots through a number of reliable brokerage houses.

You understand, of course, that the prices we have indicated are those prevailing at the time this comment is written, but that they may have changed materially one way or the other by the time this issue of the magazine is in the hands of its readers.

NO. 825.—INFORMATION ABOUT KANSAS CITY SOUTHERN PREFERRED

Will you please give me some information about Kansas City Southern preferred stock. I should like a five-year average price of the stock, and some figures suggesting the position of the stock in respect to dividends.

Here is the record, showing the highest and lowest prices at which Kansas City Southern preferred sold on the New York Stock Exchange during 1912 to 1916, inclusive:

	Highest	Lowest
1916.....	64 $\frac{3}{4}$	56 $\frac{3}{4}$
1915.....	65 $\frac{1}{2}$	54 $\frac{3}{4}$
1914.....	62	54 $\frac{1}{8}$
1913.....	61 $\frac{1}{2}$	56
1912.....	65 $\frac{3}{8}$	56

Your question about the position of the stock in respect to dividends may well be answered, we think, at least with reasonable clearness, by reference to the equivalent percentages earned on the total outstanding amount of the stock during the five-year period under review. For example, net income after the payment of fixed charges in 1912 was the equivalent of 4.21 per cent. on the preferred; in 1913, the equivalent of 7.83 per cent.; in 1914, the equivalent of 8.21 per cent.; in 1915, the equivalent of 5.43 per cent., in 1916, the equivalent of 8.34 per cent., and for the current year about 10 per cent.